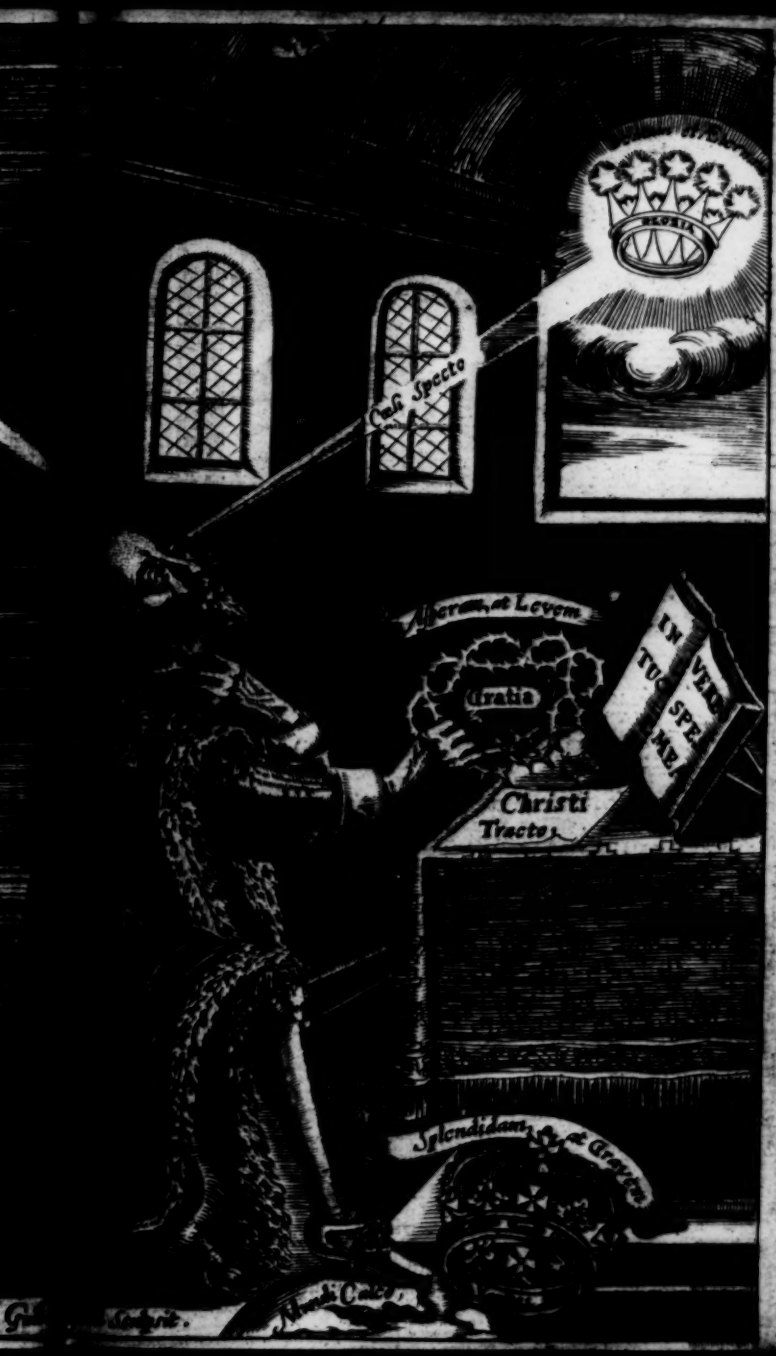

Clarior e tenebris
IMMOTA
CRESCIT SUB
PONDERE VIRTVS


Clarior e tenebris
IMMOTA
CRESCIT SUB
PONDERE VIRTVS


Cœli Spectro
Gratia
Christi
Tractu

Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ.

THE POVRTRAICTVRE OF HIS SACRED MAJESTIE IN HIS SOLITUDES AND SUFFERINGS.

ROM. 8.
More then Conquerour, &c.

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.

M.DC.XLVIII.

1885, May 29,
Gift of the Heirs of
GEORGE TICKNOR.

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Munday 29th January, 1648.

A true Relation of the KING'S *Speech to the Lady* ELIZABETH, *and the Duke of* GLOUCESTER, *the day before His Death.*

HIS Children being come to meet Him, He firſt gave His bleſſing to the Lady *Elizabeth*; and bad her remember to tell her Brother *James* when ever ſhe ſhould ſee him, That it was his Fathers laſt deſire, that he ſhould no more look upon *Charles* as his eldeſt Brother onely, but be obedient unto him, as his Soveraign; and that they ſhould love one another, and forgive their Fathers enemies. Then ſaid the *King* to her, Sweet-heart you'l forget this: No (ſaid ſhe) I ſhall never forget

it while I live: And pouring forth abundance of Tears, promiſed him to write down the Particulars.

Then the *King* taking the Duke of *Glouceſter* upon his Knee, ſaid, Sweetheart, now they will cut off thy Fathers Head; (Upon which words the Child looked very ſteadfaſtly on him.) Mark Child what I ſay, they will cut off My Head, and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I ſay, you muſt not be a King, ſo long as your Brother *Charls* and *James* do live; For they will cut off your Brothers heads (when they can catch them) and cut off thy head too at the laſt: and therefore, I charge you, do not be made a King by them. At which the Child, ſighing, ſaid, I will be torn in pieces firſt. Which falling ſo unexpectedly, from one ſo young, it made the *King* rejoyce exceedingly.

Another

Another Relation from the Lady ELIZABETHS *own Hand.*

WHat the KING ſaid to Me the nine and twentieth of *January* 1648 being the laſt time I had the happineſſe to ſee Him; He told Me, he was glad I was come, and although he had not time to ſay much, yet ſomewhat he had to ſay to me, which he had not to another, or leave in writing. Becauſe he feared their Cruelty was ſuch, as that they would not have permitted him to write to me. He wiſhed me not to grieve and torment my ſelf for Him; for that would be a glorious death that He ſhould dye; it being for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, and

for maintaining the true Proteſtant Religion. He bid me read Biſhop *Andrewes* Sermons, *Hookers Eccleſiaſticall Policy*, and Biſhop *Lands* Book againſt *Fiſher*, which would ground me againſt popery. He told me, he had forgiven all his Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them alſo; and commanded Us, and all the reſt of my Brothers and Siſters to forgive them: He bid me tell my Mother, That his thoughts had never ſtrayed from her, and that his Love ſhould be the ſame to the laſt. Withall he commanded me and my Brother to be obedient to her. And bid me ſend his Bleſſing to the reſt of my Brothers and Siſters, with Commendation to all his Friends: So after he had given Me his Bleſſing, I took my leave.

Further, he commanded Us all to forgive

forgive thoſe people, but never to truſt them; for they had been moſt falſe to him, and to thoſe that gave them power, and he feared alſo to their own ſouls; And deſired me not to grieve for him, for he ſhould dye a Martyr, And that he doubted not but the Lord would ſettle his Throne upon his Son, and that We ſhould be all happier, then We could have expected to have been, if he had lived: With many other things, which at preſent I cannot remember.

ELIZABETH.

The KING ſaid to the Duke of *Glouceſter*, that he would ſay nothing to him but what was for the good of his ſoul: He told him, that he heard that the Army intended to make him King;

King; but it was a thing not for him to take upon him, if he regarded the welfare of his Soul; for he had two Brothers before him; and therefore commanded him upon his blessing, never to accept of it, unless it redounded lawfully upon him: And commanded him to fear the Lord, and he would provide for him.

Copia vera.

An

An Epitaph upon King CHARLES.

SO fals that ſtately Cedar ; while it ſtood
That was the onely glory of the wood ;
Great Charles, *thou earthly God, Celeſtiall Man.*
Whoſe life like others, though it were a ſpan :
Yet in that ſpan, was comprehended more
Then earth hath waters, or the Ocean ſhore ;
Thy heavenly vertues, Angels ſhould rehearſe,
It is a theame too high for humane Verſe :
He that would know thee right, then let him looke
Vpon thy rare incomparable Booke,
And read it o're ; which if he doe,
He'le finde thee King, & Prieſt, and Prophet too,
And ſadly ſee our looſſe, and though in vaine,
with fruitleſſe wiſhes, call thee backe againe.
Nor ſhall oblivion ſit upon thy Herſe,
Though there were neither Monument nor Verſe.
Thy ſufferings and thy death let no man name ;
It was thy glory, but the Kingdom's ſhame.

I. H.

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

1. *Upon His Majesties calling this last Parliament.*

THis last Parliament I called, not more by others adviſe, and neceſſity of My Affairs, then by My own choice and inclination; who have alwayes thought the right way of Parliaments moſt ſafe for My Crown and beſt pleaſiug to My People; And although I was not forgetfull of thoſe ſparks, which ſome mens diſtempers formerly ſtudied to kindle in Parliaments, (which by forbearing to convene for ſome yeers, I hoped to have extinguiſhed) yet reſolving with My Self to give all juſt ſatisfaction to modeſt and ſober deſires, and to redreſſe all publick grievances in Church and State; I hoped by My (freedom & their moderation) to preveut all miſunderſtandings, and miſ-

carriages in this; In which as I feared affairs would meet with ſome paſſion and prejudice in other men, ſo I reſolved they ſhould finde leaſt of them in My Self; not doubting, but by the weight of Reaſon I ſhould counterpoize the over-ballancings of any factions.

I was, indeed, ſorry to hear, with what partiality and popular heat Elections were carried in many places; yet hoping that the gravity and diſcretion of other Gentlemen would allay and fix the Commons to a due temperament, (guiding ſome mens well-meaning zeal by ſuch rules of moderation, as are beſt both to preſerve and reſtore the health of all States and Kingdoms:) No man was better pleaſed with the convening of this Parliament, then My Self; who knowing beſt the largeneſſe of My Own Heart toward My Peoples good and juſt contentment, pleaſed My Self moſt in that good and firm underſtanding, which would hence grow between Me and My People.

All Jealouſies being laid aſide, My Own and My Childrens Intereſts gave Me

Me many obligations to ſeek and preſerve the love and welfare of My Subjects. The onely temporall bleſſing that is left to the ambition of juſt Monarchs, as their greateſt honour and ſafety, next Gods protection; I cared not to leſſen My Self in ſome things of My wonted Prerogative; ſince I knew I could be no loſer, if I might gain but a recompence in My Subjects affections.

I intended not onely to oblige My Friends, but Mine enemies alſo: exceeding even the deſires of thoſe, that were factiouſly diſcontented, if they did but pretend to any modeſt and ſober ſenſe.

The *odium* and offences which ſome mens rigour or remiſneſſe in Church and State, had contracted upon My Government, I reſolved to have expiated by ſuch Laws, and Regulations for the future, as might not onely rectifie what was amiſſe in practice, but ſupply what was defective in the conſtitution: No man having a greater zeal to ſee Religion ſetled and preſerved in Truth, Unity and Order, then My Self; whom it moſt concerns both in Piety and Policy; as know-

knowing, that, No flames of civill diſſentions are moſt dangerous then thoſe which make Religious pretenſions the grounds of Factions.

I reſolved to reform, what I ſhould by free and full advice in Parliament be convinced to be amiſſe; and to grant whatever My Reaſon and Conſcience told Me was fit to be deſired; I wiſh I had kept My ſelf within thoſe bounds, and not ſuffered My own Judgement to have been over-borne in ſome things, more by others Importunities, than their Arguments; My confidence had leſſe betrayed My ſelf, and My Kingdoms, to thoſe advantages, which ſome men ſought for, who wanted nothing but power and occaſion to do miſchief.

But our ſins being ripe, there was no preventing of Gods Juſtice, from reaping that glory in our Calamities, which we rob'd him of in our Proſperity.

For thou (O Lord) haſt made us ſee, that Reſolutions of future Reforming do not alwayes ſatisfie thy Juſtice, nor prevent thy Vengeance for former miſcarriages.

Our ſins have overlaid our hopes; Thou haſt taught

aught us to depend on thy mercies to forgive; not on our purpoſe to amend.

When thou haſt vindicated thy glory by thy Judgements, and haſt ſhewed us, how unſafe it is to offend thee, upon preſumptions afterwards to pleaſe thee; Then I truſt thy mercies will reſtore thoſe bleſſings to us, which we have ſo much abuſed, as to force thee to deprive us of them.

For want of timely repentance of our ſins, Thou giveſt us cauſe to Repent of theſe Remedies we too late apply.

Yet I do not Repent of My calling this laſt Parliament; becauſe, O Lord, I did it with an upright intention, to Thy glory, and My Peoples good.

The miſeries which have enſued upon Me and My Kingdoms, are the Juſt effects of thy diſpleaſure upon us; and may be yet (through thy mercy) preparatives of us to future bleſſings, and better hearts to enjoy them.

O Lord, though thou haſt deprived us of many former comforts; yet grant Me and My People the benefit of our afflictions, and thy chaſtiſements; that thy rod as well as thy ſtaffe may comfort us: Then ſhall we dare to account them the ſtrokes not of an Enemy, but a Father: when thou giveſt us theſe humble affections, that meaſure of Patience in Repentance, which becomes thy Children; I ſhall have no cauſe to repent the miſeries this Parliament hath occaſioned, when by them thou haſt brought Me and My People, unfeignedly to repent of the ſins we have emmitted.

Thy

Thy Grace is infinitely better with our ſufferings, then our Peace could be with our ſins.

O thou ſoveraign goodneſſe and wiſdom, who over-ruleſt all our Counſels; over-rule alſo all our hearts; That the worſe things we ſuffer by thy Juſtice, the better we may be by thy Mercy.

As our ſins have turned our Antidotes into Poiſon, ſo let thy Grace turn our Poiſons into Antidotes.

As the ſins of our Peace diſpoſed us to this unhappy War, ſo let this War prepare us for thy bleſſed Peace.

That although I have but troubleſom Kingdoms here, yet I may attain to that Kingdom of Peace in My Heart, and in thy Heaven, which Chriſt hath purchaſed, and thou wilt give to thy Servant (though a Sinner) for My Saviours ſake, Amen.

---

2. *Upon the Earl of* Strafford's *Death.*

I Looked upon my Lord of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman, whoſe great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then aſhamed to employ him, in the greateſt affairs of State.

For thoſe were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errours, and many enemies: where-

of

of he could not but contract good ſtore, while moving in ſo high a ſphear, and with ſo vigorous a luſtre, he muſt needs (as the Sun) raiſe many envious exhalations, which condenſed by a popular *odium*, were capable to caſt a cloud upon the brighteſt merit, and integrity.

Though I cannot in my Judgement approve all he did, driven (it may be) by the neceſſities of times, and the temper of that People, more then led by his own diſpoſition to any hate and rigour of actions: yet I could never be convinced of any ſuch criminouſneſſe in him, as willingly to expoſe his life to the ſtroke of Juſtice, and malice of his enemies.

I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affairs, then in the buſineſſe of that unfortunate Earl: when between My own unſatisfiedneſſe in Conſcience, and a neceſſity (as ſome told me) of ſatisfying the importunities of ſome People; I was perſwaded by thoſe, that I think wiſhed me well, to chuſe rather what was ſafe, then what ſeemed juſt; preferring the outward Peace of My Kingdoms with men, before

fore that inward exactneſſe of Conſcience before God.

And indeed I am ſo far from excuſing or denying that complyance on My part (for plenary conſent it was not) to his deſtruction, whom in my Judgement I thought nor, by any cleer Law, guilty of death: That I never bare any touch of Conſcience with greater regret: which, as a ſign of My repentance, I have often with ſorrow confeſſed both to God and men, as an act of ſo ſinful frailty, that it diſcovered more a fear of Man, than of God, whoſe name and place on Earth no man is worthy to bear, who wil avoid inconveniences of State, by acts of ſo high injuſtice, as no publick convenience can expiate or compenſate.

I ſee it a bad exchange to wound a mans own Conſcience, thereby to ſalve State Sores; to calm the ſtorms of popular diſcontents, by ſtirring up a tempeſt in a mans own boſome.

Nor hath Gods Juſtice failed in the event and ſad conſequences, to ſhew the world the fallacy of that Maxime, *Better one man periſh (though unjuſtly) then*

the

the People be diſpleaſed or deſtroyed. For,

In all likelihood, I could never have ſuffered, with My People, greater calamities, (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Strafford's* innocency, at leſt by denying to ſign that deſtructive *Bill*, according to that juſtice, which My Conſcience ſuggeſted to Me, then I have done ſince I gratified ſome mens unthankfull importunities with ſo cruell a favour. And I have obſerved, that thoſe, who counſelled Me to ſign that *Bill*, have been ſo far from receiving the rewards of ſuch ingratiatings with the People, that no men have been haraſſed and cruſhed more than they: He onely hath been leaſt vexed by them, who counſelled Me, not to conſent againſt the vote of My own Conſcience; I hope God hath forgiven Me and them the ſinfull raſhneſſe of that buſineſſe.

To which being in My ſoul ſo fully conſcious, thoſe judgements God hath pleaſed to ſend upon Me, are ſo much the more welcome, as a means (I hope) which his mercy hath ſanctified ſo to Me, as to make Me repent of that unjuſt

Act,

Act, (for ſo it was to Me) and for the future to teach Me, That the beſt rule of policy is to prefer the doing of juſtice, before all enjoyments, and the peace of My Conſcience before the preſervation of My Kingdoms.

Nor hath any thing more fortified My reſolutions againſt all thoſe violent importunities, which ſince have ſought to gain alike conſent from Me, to Acts, wherein My Conſcience is unſatisfied, then the ſharp touches I have had for what paſſed Me, in My Lord of *Straffort's* Buſineſſe.

Not that I reſolved to have employed him in My Affairs, againſt the advice of My Parliament, but I would not have had any hand in his Death, of whoſe Guiltineſſe I was better aſſured, then any man living could be.

Nor were the Crimes objected againſt him ſo cleer, as after a long and fair hearing to give convincing ſatisfaction to the major part of both Houſes; eſpecially that of the Lords, of whom ſcarce a third part were preſent, when the Bill paſſed that Houſe: And for the

Houſe

Houſe of Commons, many Gentlemen diſpoſed enough to diminiſh My Lord of *Strafford's* greatneſſe and power, yet unſatisfied of his guilt in Law, durſt not condemn him to dye: who for their Integrity in their Votes, were by poſting their Names, expoſed to the popular calumny, hatred, and fury; which grew then ſo exorbitant in their clamours *for Juſtice*, (that is, to have both My ſelf and the two Houſes Vote, and do as they would have us) that many ('tis thought) were rather terrified to concur with the condemning Party, then ſatisfied that of right they ought ſo to do.

And that after Act vacating the Authority of the precedent, for future imitation, ſufficiently tels the world, that ſome remorſe touched even his moſt implacable enemies, as knowing he had very hard meaſure, and ſuch as they would be very loath ſhould be repeated to themſelves.

This tenderneſſe and regret I finde in My ſoul, for having had any hand (and that very unwillingly God knows) in ſhedding one mans blood unjuſtly,

(though under the colour and formalities of Justice, and pretences of avoiding publick mischiefs) which may (I hope) be some evidence before God and Man, to all Posterity, that I am far from bearing justly the vast load and guilt of all that blood which hath been shed in this unhappy War; which some men will needs charge on *Me*, to ease their own souls, who am, and ever shall be, more afraid to take away any mans life unjustly, then to lose my own.

But thou, O God of infinite mercies, forgive Me that act of sinfull compliance, which hath greater aggravations upon Me then any man. Since I had not the least temptation of envy or malice against him, and by my Place should, at least so far, have been a Preserver of him, as to have denied my consent to his destruction.

O Lord, I acknowledge My transgression, and My sin is ever before Me.

Deliver Me from blood guiltinesse O God, thou God of My salvation, and My Tongue shall sing of thy Righteousnesse.

Against thee have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight, for thou saweſt the contradiction between My Heart, and My Hand.

Yet cast Me not away from thy presence, purge Me with the Blood of My Redeemer, and I shall be clean,

wash

wash Me with that precious Effusion, and I shall be whiter then snow.

Teach Me to learn Righteousnesse by thy Judgements, and to see My frailty in thy Justice: while I was perswaded by shedding one mans blood to prevent after-troubles, thou hast for that, among other sins, brought upon Me, and upon My Kingdoms, great, long, and heavy troubles.

Make Me to prefer Justice, which is thy will, before all contrary clamours, which are but the discoveries of mans injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcome Me, to please them by displeasing thee: O never suffer Me for any reason of State, to go against my Reason of Conscience, which is highly to sin against thee, the God of Reason, and Judge of our Consciences.

Whatever, O Lord, thou seest fit to deprive Me of, yet restore unto Me the joy of thy Salvation, and ever uphold Me with thy free Spirit; which subjects My will to none, but thy light of Reason, Justice, and Religion, which shines in My Soul, for thou desirest Truth in the inward parts, and Integrity in the outward expressions.

Lord hear the voyce of thy Sons, and My Saviours Blood, which speaks better things; O make Me, and My People, to hear the voyce of Joy and Gladnesse, that the bones which thou hast broken, may rejoyce in thy salvation.

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3. *Upon His Majesties going to the House of Commons.*

MY going to the House of Commons to demand Justice upon the five Members, was an act, which My enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exasperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great jealousies and fears; yea, and many of My Friends resented it as a motion rising rather from Passion then Reason, and not guided with such discretion, as the touchinesse of those times required.

But these men knew not the just motives, and pregnant grounds, with which I thought My self so furnished, that there needed nothing to such evidence, as I could have produced against those I charged, save only a free and legall Tryall, which was all I desired.

Nor had I any temptation of displeasure or revenge against those mens persons, further then I had discovered those (as I thought) unlawfull correspondencies they had used, and engagements they had

had made, to embroyl my Kingdoms: of all which I miſſed but little to have produced writings under ſome mens own hands, who were the chief contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it ſo, yet I wanted not ſuch probabilities as were ſufficient to raiſe jealouſies in any Kings Heart, who is not wholly ſtupid and neglective of the publick Peace, which to preſerve by calling in Queſtion half a dozen men, in a fair and legall way (which God knows was all My deſign) could have amounted to no worſe effect, had it ſucceeded, then either to do Me, and My Kingdom right, in caſe they had been found guilty; or elſe to have cleered their Innocency, and removed My ſuſpitions; which, as they were not raiſed out of any malice, ſo neither were they in Reaſon to be ſmothered.

What flames of diſcontent this ſpark (though I ſought by all ſpeedy and poſſible means to quench it) ſoon kindled, all the world is witneſſe: The aſperſion which ſome men caſt upon that action, as if I had deſigned by force to aſſault

the House of Commons, and invade their Priviledge, is so false, that as God best knows, I had no such intent; so none that attended Me could justly gather from any thing I then said, or did, the least intimation of any such thoughts.

That I went attended with some Gentlemen, as it was no unwonted thing for the Majesty and safety of a King so to be attended, especially in discontented times; so were My Followers at that time short of my ordinary Guard, and no way proportionable to hazard a tumultuary Conflict. Nor were they more scared at my coming, then I was unassured of not having some affronts cast upon Me, if I had none with me to preserve a reverence to Me; For many People had (at that time) learned to think those hard thoughts, which they have since abundantly vented against Me, both by words and deeds.

The sum of that Businesse was this:

Those men, and their adherents were then looked upon by the affrighted vulgar, as greater Protectors of their Laws and

and Liberties, then My ſelf, and ſo worthier of their Protection. I leave them to God; and their own Conſciences, who, if guilty of evil machinations; no preſent impunity, or popular vindications of them will be ſubterfuge ſufficient to reſcue them from thoſe exact Tribunals.

To which, in the obſtructions of Juſtice among men, we muſt religiouſly appeal, as being an argument to us Chriſtians of that after un-avoidable judgement, which ſhall re-judge, what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at al.

I endeavoured to have prevented, if God had ſeen fit, thoſe future commotions, which I foreſaw, would in all likelihood follow ſome mens activity (if not reſtrained) and ſo now hath done to the undoing of many thouſands; the more is the pitty.

But to over-awe the freedom of the Houſes, or to weaken their juſt Authority by any violent impreſſions upon them, was not at all my deſign: I thought I had ſo much Juſtice and Reaſon on My ſide, as ſhould not have needed ſo rough

assistance; and I was resolved rather to bear the repulse with patience, then to use such hazardous extremities.

But thou, O Lord, art My witnesse in Heaven, and in My Heart: If I have purposed any violence or oppression against the Innocent; or if there were any such wickednesse in My thoughts.

Then let the enemy persecute My Soul, and tread My Life to the ground, and lay Mine Honour in the dust.

Thou that seest not as Man seeth, but lookest beyond all popular appearances, searching the Heart, and trying the Reins, and bringing to light the hidden things of darknesse, shew thy self.

Let not My afflictions be esteemed (as with wise and godly men they cannot be) any argument of My sin, in that matter: more then their Impunity among good men is any sure token of their Innocency.

But forgive them wherein they have done amisse, though they are not punished for it in this world.

Save thy Servant from the privy conspiracies, and open violence of bloody and unreasonable men, according to the uprightnesse of My Heart, and the innocency of My Hands in this matter.

Plead My Cause, and maintain My Right, O thou that sittest in the Throne, judging righly, that thy Servant may ever rejoyce in thy salvation.

4. *Upon*

4. *Upon the insolency of the Tumults.*

I Never thought any thing (except our sins) more ominously presaging all these mischiefs, which have followed, then those Tumuls in *London* and *Westminster*, soon after the Convening of this Parliament; which were not like a storm at Sea, (which yet wants not its terrour) but like an Earth-quake, shaking the very foundations of all; then which, nothing in the world hath more of horrour.

As it is one of the möst convincing Arguments that there is a God, while his power sets bounds to the raging of the Sea: so 'tis no lesse that he restrains the madnesse of the People. Nor doth any thing portend more God's displeasure against a Nation, then when he suffers the confluence and clamours of the vulgar, to passe all boundaries of Laws, and reverence to Authority.

Which those Tumults did to so high degrees of Insolence, that they spared

not

not to invade the Honour and Freedom of the two Houſes, menacing, reproaching, ſhaking, yea, and aſſaulting ſome Members of both Houſes, as they fancied, or diſliked them: Nor did they forbear moſt rude and unſeemly deportments both in contemptuous words and actions, to My Self, and My Court.

Nor was this a ſhort fit or two of ſhaking, as an Ague, but a quotidian Feaver, alwayes encreaſing to higher inflamations, impatient of any mitigation, reſtraint, or remiſſion.

Firſt, they muſt be a Guard againſt thoſe fears, which ſome men ſcared themſelves and others withall; when indeed nothing was more to be feared and leſſe to be uſed by wiſe men, then thoſe tumultuary confluxes of mean and rude People, who are taught firſt to petition, then to protect, then to dictate, at laſt to command and over-awe the Parliament.

All obſtructions in Parliament (that is, all freedom of differing in Votes, and debating matters with reaſon and candour)

dour) must be taken away with these Tumuls: By these must the Houses be purged, and all rotten Members (as they pleased to count them) cast out: By these the obstinacy of men resolved to discharge their Consciences must be subdued; by these all factious, seditious, and schismaticall proposals against Government Ecclesiasticall or Civill, must be backed and abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally, whoever had most minde to bring forth confusion and ruine upon Church and State, used the midwifery of those Tumults: whose ryot and impatience was such, that they would not stay the ripening and season of Counsels, or fair production of Acts, in the order, gravity, and deliberatenesse befitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous cruelty, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, such as their Inviters and Incouragers most fancied.

Yea, so enormous and detestable were their outrages, that no sober man could be without an infinite shame and sorrow to see them so tolerated, and connived at by some, countenanced, encouraged and applauded by others. What

What good man had not rather want any thing he moſt deſired, for the publick good, then obtain it by ſuch unlawfull and irreligious means? But mens paſſions and Gods directions ſeldom agree; violent deſigns and motions muſt have ſutable engines, ſuch as too much attend their own ends, ſeldom confine themſelves to Gods means. Force muſt crowd in what reaſon will not lead.

Who were the chief Demagogues and Patrons of Tumults, to ſend for them, to flatter and embolden them, to direct and tune their clamourous importunities, ſome men yet living are too conſcious to pretend ignorance: God in his due time will let theſe ſee, that thoſe were no fit means to be uſed for attaining his ends.

But, as it is no ſtrange thing for the Sea to rage, when ſtrong windes blow upon it; ſo neither for multituds to become inſolent, when they have men of ſome reputation for parts and piety to ſet them on.

That which made their rudeneſſe moſt formidable, was, that many Complaints being

being made, and Meſſages ſent by My ſelf, and ſome of both Houſes; yet no order for redreſſe could be obtained with any vigour and efficacy, proportionable to the malignity of that now far-ſpread diſeaſe, & predominant miſchief.

Such was ſome mens ſtupidity, that they feared no inconvenience; Others petulancy, that they joyed to ſee their betters ſhamefully outraged and abuſed, while they knew their onely ſecurity conſiſted in vulgar flattery: ſo inſenſible were they of Mine, or the two Houſes common ſafety and Honours.

Nor could ever any order be obtained, impartially to examine, cenſure, and puniſh the known Boutefeus and impudent Incendiaries, who boaſted of the influence they had, and uſed to convoke thoſe Tumults as their advantages ſerved.

Yea, ſome (who ſhould have been wiſer States-men) owned them as friends, commending their Courage, Zeal, and Induſtry; which to ſober men could ſeem no better then that of the Devil, who *goes about ſeeking whom he may* deceive and *devour*.

I confeſſe, when I found ſuch a deafneſſe, that no Declaration from the Biſhops, who were firſt fouly inſolenced & aſſaulted; nor yet from other Lords and Gentlemen of Honour; nor yet from My ſelf, could take place for the due repreſſion of theſe Tumults; and ſecuring not only Our freedom in Parliament, but our very Perſons in the ſtreets; I thought My ſelf not bound by My preſence, to provoke them to higher boldneſſe and contempts; I hoped by My withdrawing to give time, both for the ebbing of their tumultuous fury, and others regaining ſome degrees of modeſty and ſober ſenſe.

Some may interpret it as an effect of Puſillanimity in any man for popular terrours to deſert his publick ſtation. But I think it a hardineſſe, beyond true valour, for a wiſe man to ſet himſelf againſt the breaking in of a Sea; which to reſiſt, at preſent, threatens imminent danger; but to withdraw, gives it ſpace to ſpend its fury, and gains a fitter time to repair the breach. Certainly a gallant man had rather fight to great diſadvantages

tages for number and place in the field, in an orderly way, then ſcuffle with an undiſciplined rabble.

Some ſuſpected and affirmed that I meditated a War, (when I went from *white-hall*, onely to redeem My Perſon and Conſcience from violence) God knows I did not then think of a War. Nor will any prudent man conceive that I would by ſo many former, and ſome after Acts, have ſo much weakned My ſelf, if I had purpoſed to engage in a War, which to decline by all means, I denyed My ſelf in ſo many particulars: 'Tis evident I had then no Army to fly unto, for protection or vindication.

Who can blame Me, or any other, for a withdrawing Our ſelves from the daily baitings of the Tumults, not knowing whether their fury and diſcontent might not fly ſo high, as to worry and tear thoſe in pieces, whom as yet they but played with in their pawes? God, who is My ſole Judge, is My witneſſe in Heaven, that I never had any thoughts of going from My Houſe at *Whitehall*, if I could have had but any reaſonable fair

Quarter;

Quarter; I was reſolved to bear much, and did ſo, but I did not think My ſelf bound to proſtitute the Majeſty of My Place and Perſon, the ſafety of My Wife and Children, to thoſe who are prone to inſult moſt, when they have objects and opportunity moſt capable of their rudeneſſe and petulancy.

But this buſineſſe of the Tumulrs (whereof ſome have given already an accompt to God, others yet living know themſelves deſperately guilty) Time and the guilt of many hath ſo ſmothered up and buried, that I think it beſt to leave it, as it is; Onely I beleeve the juſt Avenger of all diſorders, will in time make thoſe men, and that City, ſee their ſin in the glaſſe of their puniſhment. 'Tis more then an even-lay that they may one day ſee themſelves puniſhed by that way they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its firſt Election and Conſtitution, ſate full and free, the Members of both Houſes being left to their freedom of Voting, as in all reaſon, honour, and Religion, they ſhould have been, I doubt not but things

would

would have been ſo carried, as would have given no leſſe content, to all good men, then they wiſhed or expected.

For, I was reſolved to hear reaſon in all things, and to conſent to it ſo far as I could comprehend it: but as Swine are to Gardens and orderly Plantations, ſo are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian concourſes to publike Councels, turning all into diſorders, and ſordid confuſions.

I am prone ſometimes to think, That had I called this Parliament to any other place in *England* (as I might opportunely enough have done, the ſad conſequences in all likelihood, with Gods bleſſing, might have been prevented. A Parliament would have been welcome in any place; no place afforded ſuch confluence of various and vitious humours, as that where it was unhappily convened. But we muſt leave all to God, who orders our diſorders, and magnifies his wiſdom moſt, when our follies and miſeries are moſt diſcovered.

But thou O Lord art My refuge and defence, to thee I may ſafely fly, who ruleſt the raging of the Sea, and the madneſſe of the People.

The flouds, O Lord, the flouds are come in upon Me, and are ready to overwhelm Me.

I look upon My ſins, and the ſins of My People (which are the tumults of our ſouls againſt thee O Lord) as the juſt cauſe of theſe popular inundations which thou permitteſt to over-bear all the banks of Loyalty, Modeſty, Laws, Juſtice and Religion.

But thou that gatheredſt the Waters into one place, and madeſt the dry land to appear, and after didſt aſſuage the flood which drowned the world, by the word of thy Power; rebuke thoſe beaſts of the People, & deliver Me from the rudenes and ſtrivings of the multitude.

Reſtore, we beſeech thee, unto us, the freedoms of our Councels and Parliaments, make us unpaſſionately to ſee the light of Reaſon and Religion; and with all order and gravity to follow it, as it becomes Men and Chriſtians; ſo ſhall we praiſe thy Name, who art the God of Order and Councell.

What mau cannot, or will not repreſſe, thy omnipotent Juſtice can and will.

O

O Lord, give them that are yet living, a timely ſenſe and ſorrow for their great ſin, whom thou knoweſt guilty of raiſing, or not ſuppreſſing thoſe diſorders: let ſhame here, & not ſuffering hereafter their puniſhment.

Set bounds to our paſſions by Reaſon, to our errours by Truth, to our ſeditions by Laws duly executed, and to our ſchiſms by Charity, that we may be as thy Ieruſalem, *a City at unity in it ſelf.*

This grant, O My God, in thy good time for Jeſus Chriſts ſake, Amen.

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5. *Upon His Majeſties paſſing the Bill for the Trienniall Parliaments: And after ſetling this during the pleaſure of the two Houſes*

THat the world might be fully confirmed in My purpoſes at firſt, to contribute, what in Juſtice, Reaſon, Honour and Conſcience I could, to the happy Succeſſe of this Parliament, (which had in Me no other Deſign, but the generall good of My Kingdoms) I willingly paſſed the Bill for Trienniall Parliaments:

ments: which, as gentle and ſeaſonable Phyſick, might (if well applied) prevent any diſtempers from getting to any head, or prevailing: eſpecially, if the remedy proved not a diſeaſe beyond all remedy.

I conceived this Parliament would find work with convenient receſſes for the firſt three Yeers; but I did not imagine that ſome men would thereby have occaſioned more work then they found to do, by undoing ſo much as they found well done to their hands. Such is ſome mens activity, that they will needs make work rather then want it; and chuſe to be doing amiſſe rather then do nothing.

When that firſt Act ſeemed too ſcanty to ſatisfie ſome mens fears, and compaſſe publick affairs; I was perſwaded to grant that Bill of Sitting during the pleaſure of the Houſes, which amounted in ſome mens ſenſe, to as much as the perpetuating this Parliament. By this Act of higheſt confidence, I hoped for ever to ſhut out, and lock the door upon all preſent jealouſies, and future miſtakes: I confeſſe I did not thereby intend to ſhut My ſelf out of doors, as ſome men have now requited Me. True,

True, it was an Act unparalel'd by any of My Predeceſſours; yet cannot in reaſon admit of any worſe interpretation then this, of an extream confidence I had, that My Subjects would not make an ill uſe of an Act, by which I declared ſo much to truſt to them, as to deny My ſelf in ſo high a point of My Prerogative.

For good Subjects will never think it juſt or fit, that My condition ſhould be worſe by My bettering theirs: Nor indeed would it have been ſo in the events, if ſome men had known as well with moderation to uſe, as with earneſtneſſe to deſire advantages of doing good or evil.

A continuall Parliament (I thought) would but keep the Common-weal in tune, by preſerving Laws in their due execution and vigour, wherein My intereſt lies more then any mans, ſince by thoſe Laws, My Rights as a King, would be preſerved no leſſe then My Subjects; which is all I deſired. More than the Law gives Me I would not have, and leſſe the meaneſt Subject ſhould not.

Some (as I have heard) gave it out, that I ſoon repented Me of that ſerling Act:

and many would needs perſwade Me, I had cauſe ſo to do; but I could not eaſily nor ſuddenly ſuſpect ſuch ingratitude in men of Honor. That the more I granted them, the leſſe I ſhould have, and enjoy with them. I ſtill counted My ſelf undiminiſhed by My largeſt Conceſſions, if by them I might gain and confirm the love of My People.

Of which, I do not yet deſpair, but that God will ſtill bleſſe Me with encreaſe of it: when men ſhall have more leiſure, and leſſe prejudice; that ſo with unpaſſionate repreſentations they may reflect upon thoſe (as I think) not more Princely then friendly contributions, which I granted towards the perpetuating of their happineſſe, who are now onely miſerable in this, That ſome mens ambition will not give them leave to enjoy what I intended for their good.

Nor do I doubt, but that in Gods due time, the Loyall and cleered affections of My People will ſtrive to return ſuch retributions of Honour and Love to Me, or My Poſterity, as may fully compenſate both the acts of My confidence and My ſufferings

ſufferings for them; which (God knows) have been neither few, nor ſmall, nor ſhort; occaſioned chiefly by a perſwaſion I had, that I could not grant too much or diſtruſt too litttle to men, that being profeſſedly My Subjects, pretended ſingular piety, and religious ſtrictneſſe.

The injury of all injuries is, That which ſome men will needs load me withall; as if I were a wilfull and reſolved Occaſioner of My Own and My Subjects miſeries; while (as they confidently, but (God knows) falſly divulge) I repining at the eſtabliſhment of this Parliament, endeavoured by force and open hoſtility, to undo what by My Royall aſſent I had done. Sure it had argued a very ſhort ſight of things, and extream fatuity of minde in Me, ſo far to bind My own hands at their requeſt, if I had ſhortly meant to have uſed a Sword againſt them. God knows, though I had then a ſenſe of injuries; yet not ſuch, as to think them worth vindicating by a War: I was not then compelled, as ſince, to injure My ſelf by their not uſing favours with the ſame candour wherewith they were conferred. The Tu-

mules indeed threatned to abuse all Acts of Grace, and turn them into wantonneſſe; but I thought at length their own fears, whoſe black arts firſt raiſed up thoſe turbulent Spirits would force them to conjure them down again.

Nor if I had juſtly reſented any indignities put upon Me, or others, was I then in any capacity to have taken juſt revenge in an Hoſtile and Warlike way upon thoſe, whom I knew ſo well fortified in the love of the meanet ſort of the people, that I could not have given My enemies greater, and more deſired advantages againſt Me, then by ſo unprincely inconſtancy to have aſſaulted them with Arms, thereby to ſcatter them, whom but lately I had ſolemnly ſetled by an Act of Parliament.

God knows I longed for nothing more then that My ſelf, and My Subjects might quietly enjoy the fruits of My many condiſcendings.

It had been a courſe full of ſin, as well as of hazard and diſhonour, for Me to go about the cutting up of that by the Sword, which I had ſo lately planted, ſo much

much (as I thought) to my Subjects con-tent, and mine own too, in all probabili-ty: if some men had not feared where no fear was, whose securitie consisted in scaring others.

I thank God I know so well the sincerity and uprightnesse of My own Heart, in passing that great Bill, which exceeded the very thoughts of former times; that although I may seem lesse a Polititian to men, yet I need no secret distinctions or evasions before God. Nor had I any reservations in My own soul, when I passed it; nor repentings after, till I saw that My letting some men go up to the pinacle of the Temple, was a temptation to them to cast Me down head-long.

Concluding, that without a miracle, Monarchy it self, together with Me, could not but be dashed in pieces, by such a precepitious fall as they intended. Whom God in mercy forgive, and make them see at length, That as many Kingdoms as the Devil shewed our Saviour, and the glory of them, (if they could be at once enjoyed by them) are not worth the gaining, by wayes of sinfull ingratitude and

diſhonour, which hazards a Soul worth more Worlds then this hath Kingdoms.

But God hath hitherto preſerved Me, and made Me to ſee, That it is no ſtrange thing for men, left to their own paſſions, either to do much evil themſelves, or abuſe the overmuch goodneſſe of others, whereof an ungrateful Surfet is the moſt deſperate and incurable Diſeaſe.

I cannot ſay properly that I repent of that Act, ſince I have no reflexions upon it as a ſin of My will, though an errour of too charitable a judgement: Onely I am ſorry other mens eyes ſhould be evill, becauſe Mine were good.

To thee (O My God) do I ſtill appeal, whoſe All-diſcerning Juſtice ſees through all the diſguiſes of mens pretenſions, and deceitfull darkneſſes of their hearts.

Thou gaveſt Me a heart to grant much to My Subjects; and now I need a heart fitted to ſuffer much from ſome of them.

Thy will be done, though never ſo much to the croſſing of ours, even when we hope to do what might be moſt conformable to thine and theirs too; who pretended they aimed at nothing elſe.

Let

Let thy grace teach Me wiſely to enjoy as well the fruſtratings, as the fulfillings of My beſt hopes, and vaſt ſpecious deſires.

I ſee while I thought to allay others fears, I have raiſed Mine own; and by ſetling them, have unſetled My ſelf.

Thus have they requited Me evil for good, and hatred for My good will towards them.

O Lord be thou My Pylot in this dark and dangerous ſtorm, which neither admits My return to the Port whence I ſet out, nor My making any other, with that Safety and Honour which I deſigned.

'Tis eaſie for thee to keep Me ſafe in the love and confidence of My People; nor is it hard for thee to preſerve Me amidſt the unjuſt hatred and jealouſies of too many, which thou haſt ſuffered ſo far to prevail upon Me, as to be able to pervert and abuſe My acts of greateſt Indulgence to them, and aſſurance of them.

But no favours from Me can make others more guilty then My ſelf may be, of miſuſing thoſe many and great ones, which thou, O Lord, haſt conferred on Me.

I beſeech thee give Me and them ſuch repentance, as thou wilt accept, and ſuch Grace as we may not abuſe. Make

Make Me so far happy as to make a right use of others abuses, and by their failings of Me, to reflect, with a reforming displeasure upon My offences against thee.

So, although for My sins I am by other mens sins deprived of thy temporall blessings, yet I may be happy to enjoy the comfort of thy mercies, which often raise the greatest Sufferers to be the most glorious Saints.

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6. *Upon His Majesties retirement from* Westminster.

WIth what unwillingnesse I withdrew from *Westminster*, let them judge, who, unprovided of tackling and victuall, are forced to Sea by a storm; yet better do so, then venture splitting or sinking on a Lee shore.

I stayed at *White-hall*, till I was driven away by shame more then fear; to see the barbarous rudenesse of those Tumults who resolved they would take the boldnesse to demand any thing, and not leave either My self, or the Members of Parliament the liberty of our Reason and Conscience to deny them any thing.

Nor

Nor was this intolerable oppreſſion My caſe alone, (though chiefly Mine) For the Lords and Commons might be content to be over-voted by the *major* part of their Houſes, when they had uſed each their own freedom.

Whoſe agreeing Votes were not by any Law or reaſon concluſive to My judgment; nor can they include or carry with them My conſent, whom they repreſent not in any kind; Nor am I further bound to agree with the Votes of both Houſes, then I ſee them agree with the will of God, with My juſt Rights, as a King, and the generall good of My People. I ſee that as many men they are ſeldom of one minde; and I may oft ſee, that the major part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to ſober and moderate mindes, how deſirous I was to give all juſt content, when I agreed to ſo many Bils, which had been enough to ſecure and ſatisfie all; if ſome mens Hydropick inſatiableneſſe had not learned to thirſt the more by how much more they drank; whom no fountain of Royall bounty was able to overcome; ſo re-

ſolved

ſolved they ſeemed, either utterly to exhauſt it, or barbarouſly to obſtruct it.

Sure, it ceaſes to be Counſell; when no reaſon is uſed, as to men to perſwade; but force and terrour, as to beaſts, to drive and compell men to aſſent to whatever tumultuary Patrons ſhall project. He deſerves to be a ſlave without pitty, or redemption, that is content to have the rationall ſoveraignty of his ſoul, and liberty of his will, and words ſo captivated.

Nor do I think My Kingdoms ſo conſiderable as to preſerve them with the forfeiture of that freedom; which cannot be denied Me as a King, becauſe it belongs to Me as a man, and a Chriſtian; owning the dictates of none, but God, to be above Me, as obliging Me to conſent. Better for Me to dye enjoying this Empire of My ſoul, which ſubjects Me onely to God, ſo far as by Reaſon or Religion he directs Me, then live with the Title of a King, if it ſhould carry ſuch a vaſſalage with it, as not to ſuffer Me to uſe My Reaſon and Conſcience, in which I declare as a King, to like or diſlike.

So far am I from thinking the Majeſty of

the

the Crown of *England* to be bound by any Coronation Oath, in a blinde and brutiſh formality, to conſent to whatever its ſubjects in Parliament ſhall require; as ſome men will needs infer; while denying Me any power of a Negative voice as a King, they are not aſhamed to ſeek to deprive Me of the liberty of uſing My Reaſon with a good Conſcience, which themſelves, and all the Commons of *England* enjoy proportionable to their influence on the publick; who would take it very ill to be urged, not to deny, whatever My ſelf, as King, or the Houſe of Peers with Me ſhould, not ſo much deſire as enjoyn them to paſſe. I think My Oath fully diſcharged in that point by My Governing onely by ſuch Laws, as My People with the Houſe of Peers have choſen, and My ſelf have conſented to. I ſhall never think My ſelf conſcientiouſly tyed to go as oft againſt My Conſcience, as I ſhould conſent to ſuch new Propoſals, which My Reaſon in Juſtice, Honour, and Religion bids Me deny.

Yet ſo tender I ſee ſome men are of their being ſubject to Arbitrary Government,

(that

(that is, the Law of anothers will, to which themſelves give no conſent) that they care not with how much diſhonour and abſurdity they make their King the onely man, that muſt be ſubject to the will of others, without having power left Him, to uſe His own Reaſon, either in Perſon, or by any Repreſentation.

And if My diſſentings at any time were (as ſome have ſuſpected, and uncharitably avowed out of errour, opinionativeneſſe, weakneſſe, or wilfulneſſe, and what they call Obſtinacy in Me (which not true Judgement of things, but ſome vehement prejudice or paſſion hath fixed on My minde;) yet can no man think it other then the badge and method of Slavery, by ſavage rudeneſſe, and importunate obtruſions of violence, to have the miſt of his errour and paſſion diſpelled, which is a ſhadow of Reaſon, and muſt ſerve thoſe that are deſtitute of the ſubſtance. Sure that man cannot be blamable to God or man, who ſeriouſly endeavours to ſee the beſt reaſon of things, and faithfully follows what he takes for Reaſon: The uprightneſſe of his intentions will excuſe the

the possible failings of his understanding; If a Pilot at Sea cannot see the Pole-star, it can be no fault in him to steere his course by such stars as do best appear to him. It argues rather those men to be conscious of their defects of Reason, and convincing Arguments, who call in the assistance of meer force to carry on the weakness of their Councells, and propo-salls. I may in the truth and uprightness of My heart, protest before God and Men; that I never wilfully opposed, or denied any thing, that was in a fair way, after full and free debates propounded to Me, by the two Houses, Further then I thought in good reason I might, and was bound to do.

Nor did any thing ever please Me more, then when My Judgement so concurred with theirs, that I might with good Conscience consent to them: yea, in many things where not absolute and morall necessity of Reason, but temporary convenience in point of Honour was to be considered. I chose rather to deny My self, then them; as preferring that which they thought necessary for My Peoples

good, before what I ſaw but convenient for My ſelfe.

For I cannot be content to recede much from my Own Intereſts, and Perſonall Rights, of which I conceive My ſelf to be Maſter; but in what concerns Truth, Iuſtice, the Rights of the Church, and My Crown, together with the generall good of My Kingdoms; (all which I am bound to preſerve as much as morally lyes in Me;) here I am, and ever ſhall be fixt and reſolute, nor ſhall any man gain My conſent to that, wherein My heart gives My tongue or hand the Lye; nor will I be brought to affirm that to men, which in My Conſcience I deny before God. I will rather chuſe to wear a Crown of Thorns with my Saviour, then to exchange that of Gold (which is due to me) for one of Lead, whoſe embaſed flexibleneſſe ſhall be forced to bend, and comply to the various, and oft contrary dictates of any Factions; when inſtead of Reaſon, and publick Concernments, they obtrude nothing but what makes for the intereſt of Parties, and flowes from the partialities of private wils and paſſions.

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I know no reſolutions more worthy a Chriſtian King, then to prefer His Conſcience before His Kingdoms.

O My God, preſerve thy Servant in this Native, Rationall and Religious Freedom; for this I beleeve is thy will, that we ſhould maintain: who, though thou doſt juſtly require us, to ſubmit our underſtandings and wils to thine; whoſe wiſdom and goodneſſe can neither erre, nor miſguide us, and ſo far to deny our carnall reaſon, in order to thy ſacred Myſteries and commands, that we ſhould beleeve and obey rather then diſpute them; yet doſt thou expect from us, only ſuch a reaſonable ſervice of thee, as not to doe any thing for thee, againſt our Conſciences; and as to the deſires of men, enjoyneſt us to try all things by the touch-ſtone of Reaſon and Laws, which are the rules of Civill Juſtice; and to declare our conſents to that only which our Judgments approve.

Thou knoweſt, O Lord, how unwilling I was to deſert that place, in which thou haſt ſet Me, and whereto the affairs of My Kingdoms at preſent did call Me.

My People can witneſſe how far I have been content for their good, to deny My ſelf, in what thou haſt ſubjected to My diſpoſall.

O let not the unthankfull importunities, and tumultuary violence of ſome mens Immoderate demands, ever betray Me to that degenerous and unmanly ſlavery, which ſhould make Me ſtrengthen them by My conſent in thoſe things which I think in My Conſcience to be againſt thy Glory, the good of My Subjects, and the diſcharge of My own Duty in Reaſon and Juſtice.

Make Me willing to ſuffer the greateſt indignities and injuries they preſſe upon Me, rather then commit the leaſt ſin againſt My Conſcience.

Let the juſt Liberties of My People be (as well they may) preſerved in fair and equall wayes, without the ſlavery of My ſoul.

Thou that haſt inveſted Me by thy favours, in the power of a Chriſtian King, ſuffer Me not to ſubject My Reaſon to other mens paſſions and deſigns, which to Me ſeem unreaſonable, unjuſt, and irreligious: So ſhall I ſerve thee in the truth and uprightneſſe of My heart, though I cannot ſatisfie theſe men.

Though I be driven from among them, yet give Me grace to walk always uprightly before thee.

Lead Me in the way of Truth and Juſtice,

ſtice, for theſe, I know, will bring Me at laſt to Peace and Happineſſe with thee; though for theſe I have much trouble among men. This I beg of thee for My Saviours ſake.

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7. *Upon the Queens departure, and abſence out of* England.

ALthough I have much cauſe to be troubled at My Wifes departure from Me, and out of My Dominions; yet not Her abſence, ſo much as the ſcandall of that neceſſity, which drives her away, doth afflict Me. That She ſhould be compelled by My own Subjects, and thoſe pretending to be Proteſtants, to withdraw for Her ſafety: This being the firſt example of any Proteſtant Subjects, that have taken up Arms againſt their King, a Proteſtant: For I look upon this now done in *England*, as another Act of the ſame Tragedy which was lately begun in *Scotland*; the brands of that fire being ill quenched, have kindled the like flames here. I fear ſuch motions (ſo little to the adorning of the Proteſtant profeſſion)

may occaſion a farther alienation of minde, and divorce of affections in Her, from that Religion, which is the onely thing wherein We differ.

Which yet God can, and I pray he would in time take away; and not ſuffer theſe practiſes to be any obſtruction to Her judgement; ſince it is the motion of thoſe men, (for the moſt part) who are yet to ſeek and ſettle their Religion for Doctrine, Government, and good manners, and ſo not to be imputed to the true *Engliſh* Proteſtants; who continue firm to their former ſetled Principles and Laws.

I am ſorry my relation to ſo deſerving a Lady, ſhould be any occaſion of Her danger and affliction; whoſe merits would have ſerved Her for a protection among the ſavage *Indians*; while their rudeneſſe and barbarity knows not ſo perfectly to hate all Vertues, as ſome mens ſubtilty doth; among whom I yet think, few are ſo malicious as to hate Her for Her ſelf. The fault is, that She is my Wife.

All juſtice then as well as affection commands me to ſtudy her Security, who is onely in danger for my ſake; I am con-

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tent to be toſſed, weather-beaten and ſhipwrackt, ſo as She may be in ſafe Harbour.

This comfort I ſhall enjoy by Her ſafety in the midſt of my Perſonall dangers, that I can periſh but half, if She be preſerved: In whoſe memory, and hopefull Poſterity, I may yet ſurvive the malice of my enemies, although they ſhould be ſatiated with my Blood.

I muſt leave Her, and Them, to the Love and Loyalty of my good Subjects; and to his protection, who is able to puniſh the faults of Princes, and no leſſe ſeverely to revenge the injuries done to Them, by thoſe who in all Duty and Allegiance, ought to have made good that ſafety, which the Laws chiefly provide for Princes.

But common civility is in vain expected from thoſe that diſpute their loyalty: nor can it be ſafe (for any relation) to a King, to tarry among them who are ſhaking hands w^th^ their Allegiance, under pretence of laying faſter hold on their Religion.

'Tis pitty ſo noble and peacefull a Soul ſhould ſee, much more ſuffer, the rude-

of thoſe who muſt make up their want of juſtice, with inhumanity and impudence.

Her ſympathy with Me in My affliction, will make her vertues ſhine with greater luſtre, as ſtars in the darkeſt nights; and aſſure the envious world, that ſhe loves Me, not My fortunes.

Neither of us but can eaſily forgive, ſince We do not much blame the unkindneſſe of the Generality and Vulgar; for we ſee God is pleaſed to try both our patience, by the moſt ſelf-puniſhing ſin, the Ingratitude of thoſe, who having eaten of our bread, and being enriched with our bounty, have Scornfully lift up themſelves againſt Us; and thoſe of Our owne Houſhould are become Our enemies. I pray God lay not their ſin to their charge: who thinke to ſatisfy all obligations to duty, by their Corban of Religion: and can leſſe endure to ſee, then to ſin againſt their benefactours as well as their Soveraignes.

But even that policy of my enemies is ſo farre veniall, as it was neceſſary to their deſignes, by ſcandalous articles, and all irreverent demeanour, to ſeek to drive her

her out of My Kingdoms; leaſt by the influence of her example, eminent for love as a Wife, and Loyalty, as a Subject, She ſhould have converted to, or retained in their love, and Loyalty, all thoſe whom they had a purpoſe to pervert.

The leſſe I may be bleſt with her company, the more I will retire to God and My own Heart, whence no malice can baniſh Her. My enemies may envy, but they can never deprive Me of the enjoyment of her vertues, while I enjoy My ſelf.

Thou O Lord, whoſe Juſtice at preſent ſees fit to ſcatter us, let thy mercy in thy due time re-unite us on earth, if it be thy will; however, bring us both at laſt to thy heavenly Kingdom.

Preſerve us from the hands of our deſpightfull and deadly enemies; and prepare us by our ſufferings for thy preſence.

Though We differ in ſome thiugs, as to Religion, (which is My greateſt temporall infelicity) yet Lord give, and accept the ſincerity of our affections, which deſire to ſeek, to finde, to embrace every Truth of thine.

Let both our hearts agree in the love of thy

thy ſelf, and Chriſt crucified for us.

Teach us both what thou wouldſt have us to know, in order to thy glory, our publick relations, and our ſouls eternall good, and make us careſull to do what good we know.

Let neither ignorance of what is neceſſary to be known, or unbelief, or diſobedience to what we know, be our miſery or our wilfull default.

Let not this great ſcandall of thoſe My Subjects, which profeſſe the ſame Religion with Me, be any hinderance to Her love of any Truth thou wouldſt have her to learn, nor any hardning of Her, in any errour thou wouldſt have cleered to her.

Let mine, and other mens conſtancy be an antidote againſt the poyſon of their example

Let the truth of that Religion I profeſſe, be repreſented to Her Judgement, with all the beauties of Humility, Loyalty, Charity, and Peaceableneſſe; which are the proper fruits and ornanents of it: not in the odious diſguiſes of Levity, Schiſm, Hereſie, Novelty, Cruelty and Diſloyalty, which ſome mens practiſes have lately put upon it.

Let her ſee thy ſacred and ſaving Truths, as Thine; that ſhe may beleeve, love and obey

obey them as Thine, cleered from all ruſt and droſſe of humane mixtures.

That in the glaſſe of thy Truth ſhe may ſee thee, in thoſe mercies which thou haſt offered to us, in thy Son Jeſus Chriſt, our onely Saviour, and ſerve thee in all thoſe holy duties which moſt agree with his holy Doctrine and moſt imitable example.

The experience we have of the vanity and uncertainty of all humane Glory and Greatneſſe in our ſcatterings and Eclipſes, let it make us both ſo much the more ambitious to be inveſted in thoſe durable honors and perfections which are onely to be found in thy ſelf, and obtained through Jeſus Chriſt.

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8. *Upon His Majeſties repulſe at* Hull, *and the fetes of the* Hothams.

MY repulſe at *Hull* ſeemed at the firſt view an act of ſo rude diſloyalty, that my greateſt enemies had ſcarce confidence enough to abet, or own it: It was the firſt overt Eſſay to be made, how patiently I could bear the loſſe of my Kingdoms. God

God knows, it affected Me more with ſhame and ſorrow for others, then with anger for My ſelf; nor did the affront done to Me trouble Me ſo much as their ſin, which admitted no colour or excuſe.

I was reſolved how to bear this, and much more, with patience: But I foreſaw they could hardly contain themſelves within the compaſſe of this one vnworthy act, who had effrontery enough to commit or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was ſoon after to over-ſpread the whole Kingdom, and caſt all into diſorder and darkneſſe.

For 'tis among the wicked maximes of bold and diſloyall undertakers: That bad actions muſt alwayes be ſeconded with worſe, and rather not be begun then not carried on, for they think the retreat more dangerous then the aſſault, and hate repentance more then perſeverance in a Fault.

This gave Me to ſee cleerly through all the pious diſguiſes, and ſoft palliations of ſome men; whoſe words were ſometime ſmoother then oyle, but now I ſaw they would prove very Swords.

Againſt

Againſt which I having (as yet) no defence, but that of a good Conſcience, thought it My beſt policy (with patience) to bear what I could not remedy: And in this (I thank God) I had the better of *Hotham*, that no diſdain, or emotion of paſſion tranſported Me, by the indignity of his carriage, to do or ſay any thing, unbeſeeming My ſelf, or unſuitable to that temper, which, in greateſt injuries, I think beſt becoms a Chriſtian, as coming neereſt to the great example of Chriſt.

And indeed, I deſire alwayes more to remember I am a Chriſtian, then a King; for what the Majeſty of one might juſtly abhor, the Charity of the other is willing to bear; what the height of a King tempteth to revenge, the humility of a Chriſtian teacheth to forgive. Keeping in compaſſe all thoſe impotent paſſions, whoſe exceſſe injures a man, more then his greateſt enemies can; for theſe give their malice a full impreſſion on our ſouls, which otherwayes cannot reach very far, nor do us much hurt.

I cannot but obſerve how God not long after ſo pleaded, and avenged My Cauſe,

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in the eye of the world, that the moſt wilfully blinde cannot avoid the diſpleaſure to ſee it, and with ſome remorſe and fear to own it as a notable ſtroke, and prediction of divine vengeance.

For, Sir *John Hotham* unreproached, unthreatned, uncurſed by any language or ſecret imprecation of mine, onely blaſted with the conſcience of his own wickedneſſe, and falling from one inconſtancy to another, not long after paies his own and his eldeſt Sons heads, as forfeitures of their diſloyalty, to thoſe men, from whom ſurely he might have expected another reward, then thus to divide their heads from their bodies, whoſe hearts with them were divided from their King.

Nor is it ſtrange that they who employed them at firſt in ſo high a ſervice, and ſo ſucceſsfull to them, ſhould not finde mercy enough to forgive him, who ſo much premerited of them: For, Apoſtacy unto Loyalty ſome men account the moſt unpardonable ſin.

Nor did a ſolitary vengeance ſerve the turn, the cutting off one head in a family is not enough to expiate the affront done

to the head of the Common-weal. The eldeſt ſon muſt be involved in the puniſhment, as he was infected with the ſin of the father, againſt the Father of his Country: Root and branch God cuts off in one day.

Theſe obſervations are obvious to every fancy: God knows, I was ſo far from rejoycing in the *Hothams* ruine, (though it were ſuch as was able to give the greateſt thirſt for revenge a full draught, being executed by them who firſt employed him againſt Me) that I ſo far pittied him, as I thought he at firſt acted more againſt the light of his Conſcience, then I hope many other men do in the ſame Cauſe.

For, he was never thought to be of that ſuperſtitious ſowrneſſe, which ſome men pretend to, in matters of Religion; which ſo darkens their judgement, that they cannot ſee any thing of ſin and rebellion in thoſe means they uſe, with intents to reform to their models, what they call Religion, who think all is gold of piety, which doth but gliſter with a ſhew of Zeal and fervency.

Sir *John Hotham* was (I think) a man of another

another temper, and ſo moſt lyable to thoſe down-right temptations of ambition, which have no cloak or cheat of Religion, to impoſe upon themſelves or others.

That which makes Me more pitty him, is, that after he began to have ſome inclinations towards a repentance for his ſin, and reparation of his duty to Me, he ſhould be ſo unhappy as to fall into the hands of their Juſtice, and not My Mercy, who could as willingly have forgiven him as he could have asked that favour of Me.

For I think Clemency a debt which we ought to pay to thoſe that crave it, when we have cauſe to beleeve they would not after abuſe it, ſince God himſelf ſuffers us not to pay any thing for his mercy but onely Prayers and Praiſes.

Poor Gentleman, he is now become a notable monument of unproſperous diſloyalty, teaching the world by ſo ſad and unfortunate a ſpectacle, that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Soveraign, carries alwayes its own vengeance, as an unſeparable ſhadow with it, and thoſe oft prove the moſt fatall, and implacable Executioners

ecutioners of it, who were the firſt Imployers in the ſervice.

After-times will diſpute it, whether *Hotham* were more infamous at *Hull*, or at *Tower-Hill*; though 'tis certain that no puniſhment ſo ſtains a mans Honour, as wilfull perpetrations of unworthy actions; which beſides the conſcience of the ſin, brands with moſt indelible characters of infamy, the name and memory to Poſterity, who not engaged in the Factions of the times, have the moſt impartiall reflexions on the actions.

But thou, O Lord, who haſt in ſo remarkable a way avenged thy Servant, ſuffer Me not to take any ſecret pleaſure in it; for as his death hath ſatisfied the injury he did to me, ſo let me not by it gratifie any paſſion in me, leſt I make thy vengeance to be mine, and conſider the affront againſt me, more then the ſin againſt thee.

Thou indeed, without any deſire or endeavour of mine, haſt made his miſchief to return on his own head, and his violent dealing to come down on his own pate.

Thou haſt pleaded my Cauſe, even before the ſons of men, and taken the matter into

thine own hands ; that men may know it w
thy work, and see that thou, Lord, hast done i
I do not, I dare not say, so let mine enemie
perish O Lord ! yea Lord, rather give the
repentance, pardon, and impunity, if it b
thy blessed will.

Let not thy justice prevent the objects an
opportunities of my mercy, yea, let them liv
and amend who have most offended me in
high a nature ; that I may have those to for-
give, who beare most proportion in their of-
fences to those trespasses against thy majesty
which I hope thy mercy hath forgiven me.

Lord lay not their sin (who yet live) t
their charge for condemnation, but to thei
consciences for amendment : Let the light-
ing of this thunder-bolt, which hath been s
severe a punishment to one, to be a terrou
to all.

Discover to them their sin, who know no
they have done amisse, and scare them from
their sin, that sin of malicious wickednesse.

That preventing thy judgments by thei
true repentance, they may escape the stroke
of thine eternall vengeance.

And doe thou, O Lord, establish the
Throne of thy servant in mercy, and truth
meeting together ; let my Crowne ever flou-
rish

riſh in righteouſneſſe, and peace, kiſſing each other.

Hear my prayer, O Lord, who haſt taught us to pray for, to doe good to, and to love our enemies, for thy ſake; who haſt preuented us with offertures of thy love, even when we were thine enemies, and haſt ſent thy Sonne Jeſus Chriſt to dye for us, when we were diſpoſed to crucifie him.

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9. *Upon the liſting and raiſing Armies againſt the* KING.

I Finde that I am at the ſame point and poſture I was, when they forced me to leave *white hall:* what Tumults could not do, an Army muſt; which is but Tumults liſted and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an end: My receſſe hath given them confidence that I may be conquered.

And ſo I eaſily may, as to any outward ſtrength, which, God knows, is little or none at all: But I have a ſoul invincible through God grace enabling Me; here I am ſure to be Conqu[illegible]rour, if God will give Me ſuch a meaſure of Conſtancie,

as to feare him more then man: and to love the inward peace of My Conſcience, before any outward tranquillity.

And muſt I be oppoſed with force, becauſe they have not reaſon wherewith to convince me? O my Soule! be of good courage, they confeſſe their knowne weakneſſe, as to truth, and Juſtice, who choſe rather to contend by Armies, then by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receive for thoſe many Acts of Grace I have lately paſſed, and for thoſe many Indignities I have endured? Is there no way left to make Me a glorious King but by My ſufferings?

It is a hard and diſputable choice for a King that loves his People, and deſires their love, either to Kill his owne Subjects or to be killed by them.

Are the hazards and miſeries of Civil War in the bowels of My moſt flouriſhing Kingdome, the fruits I muſt now reap after 17 years living and reigning among them, with ſuch a meaſure of Juſtice, Peace, Plenty, and Religion, as all Nations about either admired, or envied? notwith-

notwithſtanding ſome miſcarriages in Government, which might eſcape; rather through ill counſell of ſome men driving on their private ends, or the peeviſhneſſe of others envying the publique ſhould be managed without them, or the hidden and inſuperable neceſſities of State, then any propenſity, I hope, of my ſelfe, either to injuriouſneſſe or oppreſſion.

Whoſe innocent blood during My Raign have I ſhed, to ſatisfie My luſt, anger, or covetouſneſſe? what Widowes or Orphans tears can witneſſe againſt me; the juſt cry of which muſt now be avenged with My owne blood? For the hazards of Warre are equall, nor doth the Cannon know any reſpect of Perſons.

In vaine is My Perſon excepted by a Parentheſis of words, when ſo many hands are armed againſt Me wih Swords.

God knowes how much I have ſtudied to ſee what Ground of Juſtice is alledged for this Warre againſt Me; that ſo I might (by giving juſt ſatisfaction) either prevent, or ſoone end ſo unnaturall a motion; which (to many men) ſeems rather the productions of a ſurfeit of peace, and

wantonneſſe of mindes, or of private diſcontents, Ambition and Faction (which eaſily finde, or make cauſes of Quarrell) then any reall obſtructions of publick Juſtice, or Parliamentary Priviledge.

But this pretended, and this I muſt be able to avoid and anſwer before God in my Own Conſcience, however ſome men are not willing to beleeve Me, leaſt they ſhould condemn themſelves.

When I firſt withdrew from *White-hall*, to ſee if I could allay the inſolency of the Tumults, (the not ſuppreſſing of which, no account in reaſon can be given, (where an orderly Guard was granted) but onely to oppreſſe both Mine and the two Houſes freedom of declaring and voting according to every mans Conſcience) what obſtructions of Juſtice were there further then this, that what ſeemed juſt to one man, might not ſeem ſo to another?

Whom did I by power protect againſt the Juſtice of Parliament?

That ſome men withdrew, who feared the partiality of their tryall, (warned by my Lord of *Strafford's* death) while the vulgar threatned to be their Oppreſſours, and

and Judgers of their Judges, was from that inſtinct, which is in all creatures to preſerve themſelves. If any others refuſed to appear, where they evidently ſaw the current of Juſtice and Freedom ſo ſtopped and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawfull Judges either durſt not come to the Houſes, or not declare their ſenſe with liberty and ſafety; it cannot ſeem ſtrange to any reaſonable man when the ſole expoſing them to publick *odium*, was enough to ruine them, before their Cauſe could be heard or tried.

Had not factious Tumults over-borne the Freedom and Honour of the two Houſes; had they aſſerted their juſtice againſt them, and made the way open for all the Members quietly to come and declare their Conſciences: I know no man, ſo dear to Me, whom I had the leaſt inclination to adviſe either to withdraw himſelf, or deny appearing upon their Summons, to whoſe Sentence according to Law (I think) every Subject bound to ſtand.

Diſtempers (indeed) were riſen to ſo great a hight for want of timely repreſſing the

the vulgar inſolencies; that the greateſt guilt of thoſe which were voted and demanded as Delinquents was this, That they would not ſuffer themſelves to be over-awed with the Tumults, and their Patrons; nor compelled to abet by their ſuffrages, or preſence; the deſigns of thoſe men who agitated innovaſions and ruine, both in Church and State.

In this point I could not but approve their generous conſtancy and cautiouſneſſe; further then this I did never allow any mans refractorineſſe againſt the Priviledges and Orders of the Houſes; to whom I wiſhed nothing more then Safety, Fulneſſe, and Freedom.

But the truth is, ſome men, and thoſe not many, deſpairing in fair and Parliamentary wayes by free Deliberations and Votes, to gain the concurrence of the major part of Lords and Commons, betook themſelves (by the deſperate activity of factious Tumults) to ſift and terrifie away all thoſe Members whom they ſaw to be of contrary mindes to their purpoſes.

How oft was the buſineſſe of the Biſhops enjoying their ancient Places, and undoubted

undoubted Priviledges in the Houſe of Peers, carried for them by far the major part of Lords. Yet after five repulſes, contrary to all Order and Cuſtome, it was by tumultuary inſtigations obtruded again, and by a few carried, when moſt of the Peers were forced to abſent themſelves.

In like manner, was the Bill againſt Root and Branch, brought on by tumultuary Clamours, and ſchiſmaticall Terrours, which could never paſſe, till both Houſes were ſufficiently thinned and over-awed.

To which Partiality, while in all Reaſon, Juſtice and Religion, My Conſcience forbids Me by conſenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament; I muſt now be urged with an Army, and conſtrained either to hazard My own, and My Kingdoms ruine, by My defence; or proſtrate My Conſcience to the blinde obedience of thoſe men, whoſe zealous ſuperſtition thinks or pretends, they cannot do God and the Church a greater ſervice, than utterly to deſtroy that Primitive, Apoſtolicall, and anciently Univerſall Government of the Church by Biſhops.

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Which if other mens judgements bind them to maintain, or forbids them to consent to the abolishing of it; Mine much more; who, besides the grounds I have in My judgement, have also a most strict and indispensable Oath upon My Conscience, to preserve that Order, and the Rights of the Church; to which, most Sacrilegious and abhored Perjury, most unbeseeming a Christian King, should I ever by giving My consent be betrayed, I should account it infinitely greater misery, then any hath, or can befall Me; in as much as the least sin hath more evil in it then the greatest affliction. Had I gratified their Anti-episcopall Faction at first in this point, with My consent, and sacrificed the Ecclesiasticall Government, and Revenues, to the fury of their covetuousnesse, ambition, and revenge, I beleeve they would then have found no colourable necessity of raising an Army to fetch in, and punish Delinquents.

That I consented to the Bill of putting the Bishops out of the house of Peers, was done with a firm perswasion of their contentednesse to suffer a present diminution

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in their Rights and Honour for My ſake, and the Common-weals, which I was confident they would readily yeeld unto, rather then occaſion (by the leaſt obſtruction on their part) any dangers to Me, or to My Kingdom. That I cannot adde My conſent for the totall extirpation of that Government (which I have often offered to all fit regulations) hath ſo much further tye upon My Conſcience, as what I think Religious and Apoſtolicall; and ſo very Sacred and Divine, is not to be diſpenſed with, or deſtroyed, when what is onely of civill Favour, and priviledge of Honour granted to men of that Order, may with their conſent, who are concerned in it be annulled.

This is the true ſtate of thoſe obſtructions pretended to be in point of Juſtice and Authority of Parliament; when I call God to witneſſe, I knew none of ſuch conſequence as was worth ſpeaking of a War, being onely ſuch as Juſtice, Reaſon and Religion had made in My own and other mens Conſciences.

Afterwards indeed a great ſhew of Delinquents was made; which were but conſequences

ſequences neceſſarily following upon Mine, or others with-drawing from, or defence againſt violence: but thoſe could not be the firſt occaſion of raiſing an Army againſt Me. Wherein I was ſo far from preventing them, (as they have declared often, that they might ſeem to have the advantage and juſtice of the defenſive part, and load Me with all the envy and injuries of firſt aſſaulting them) that God knows, I had not ſo much as any hopes of an Army in My thoughts. Had the Tumults been Honourably and Effectually repreſſed by exemplary Juſtice, and the liberty of the Houſes ſo vindicated, that all Members of either Houſe might with Honour and Freedom, becomming ſuch a Senate, have come and diſcharged their Conſciences, I had obtained all that I deſigned by My withdrawing, and had much more willingly and ſpeedily returned then I retired; this being My neceſſity driving, the other My choice deſiring.

But ſome men knew, I was like to bring the ſame judgement and conſtancy which I carried with Me, which would never fit their deſigns: and ſo while they invited

Me

Me to come, and grievouſly complained of My abſence, yet they could not but be pleaſed with it: eſpecially when they had found out that plauſible and popular pretext of raiſing an Army to fetch in Delinquents: when all that while they never puniſhed the greateſt and moſt intolera- Delinquency of the Tumults, and their Exciters, which drave My ſelf, and ſo many of both Houſes from their places, by moſt barbarous indignities, which yet in all Reaſon and Honour they were as loath to have deſerted, as thoſe others were willing they ſhould, that ſo they might have occaſion to perſecute them with the injuries of an Army, for not ſufferiug more tamely the injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true ſtate, and firſt drift and deſign in raiſing an Army againſt Me, is by the ſequell ſo evident, that all other pretences vaniſh. For when they declared by Propoſitions, or Treaties, what they would have to appeaſe them; there was nothing of conſequence offered to Me, or demanded of Me, as any originall difference in any point of Law, or order of Juſtice. But among other leſſer innovaſi-

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ons, this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of Epiſcopall, and the Eſtabliſhment of Presbyterian Government.

All other things at any time propounded were either impertinent, as to any ground of a War, or eaſily granted by Me, and onely to make up a number, or elſe they were meerely conſequentiall, and acceſſary, after the War was by them unjuſtly began.

I cannot hinder other mens thoughts, whom the noiſe and ſhew of piety, and heat for Reformation and Religion, might eaſily ſo fill with prejudice, that all equality and clearneſſe of judgment might be obſtructed. But this was, and is, as to my beſt obſervation, the true ſtate of affairs betweene us, when they firſt raiſed an Army, with this deſigne, either to ſtop My mouth, or to force My conſent: and in this truth, as to My conſcience, (who was (God knowes) as far from meditating a War, as I was in the eye of the world from having any preparation for one) I find that comfort, that in the midſt of all the unfortunate ſucceſſes of this War, on My ſide, I doe not think My Innocencie

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any whit prejudiced or darkned; Nor am I without that Integrity and Peace before God, as with humble confidence to addreſſe My Prayer to Him.

For thou, O Lord, ſeeſt cleerly through all the cloudings of humane affairs; thou judgeſt without prejudice: thy omniſcience eternally guides thy unerrable Judgement.

O My God, the proud are riſen againſt me, and the aſſemblies of violent men have ſought after my ſoul, and have not ſet thee before their eyes.

Conſider my enemies, O Lord, for they are many, and they hate me with a deadly hatred without a cauſe.

For thou knoweſt, I had no paſſion, deſign or preparation to embroyl my Kingdoms in a civill war; whereto I had leaſt temptation; as knowing I muſt adventure more then any, and could gain leaſt of any by it.

Thou, O Lord, art my witneſſe how oft I have deplored, and ſtudied to divert the neceſſity thereof, wherein I cannot well be thought ſo prodigally thirſty of my Subjects blood, as to veture my own Life, which I have been oft compelled to doe in this unhap-

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py Warre; and which were better ſpent to ſave then to deſtroy my People.

O Lord, I need much of thy grace, with patience to bear the many afflictions thou haſt ſuffered ſome men to bring upon me; but much more to bear the unjuſt reproaches of thoſe, who not content that I ſuffer moſt by the Warre, will needs perſwade the world that I have raiſed firſt, or given juſt cauſe to raiſe it.

The confidence of ſome mens falſe tongues is ſuch, that they would make me almoſt ſuſpect my own innocency: Yea, I could be content (at leaſt by my ſilence) to take upon me ſo great a guilt before men, If by that I might allay the malice of my Enemies, and redeem my People from this miſerable War; ſince thou O Lord knoweſt my Innocency in this thing.

Thou wilt find out bloody and deceitfull men; many of whom have not lived out half their dayes, in which they promiſed themſelves the enjoyment of the fruits of their violent and wicked Counſells.

Save, O Lord, thy ſervant, as hitherto thou haſt, and in thy due time ſcatter the people that delight in War.

Ariſe

Arise ô Lord, lift up thy self, because of the rage of mine Enemies, which encreaseth more and more. Behold them that have conceived mischief, travelled with iniquitie, and brought forth falshood.

Thou knowest the chief designe of this Warre is, either to destroy my Person, or force my Judgment, & to make me renege my Conscience & thy Truth

I am driven to crosse Davids *choise and desire, rather to fall into the hands of men, by denying them (though their mercies be cruel) then into thy hands by sinning against my Conscience, and in that against thee, who art a consuming fire; Better they destroy me, then thou shouldst damne me:*

Be thou ever the defence of my Soule, who wilt save the upright in heart.

If nothing but my blood will satisfie my Enemies, or quench the flames af My Kingdomes, or thy temporall Justice, I am content, if it be thy will, that it be shed by Mine owne Subjects hands.

But ô let the blood of me, though their King, yet a sinner, be washed with the blood of my Innocent & peace-making Redeemer, for in that thy Justice will find not only a temporarie expiation but an eternall plenary satisfaction; both for my sins, & the sins of my People; whom I beseech thee still own for thine, and when thy wrath is appeased by my death, ô Remember thy great mercies toward them, and forgive them! ô my Father, for they know not what they doe.

10. *Upon their ſeizing the Kings Magazines, Forts, Navy and Militia.*

HOw untruly I am Charged with the firſt raiſing of an Army, and beginning this Civill Warre, the eyes that only pitty Me, and the Loyall hearts that durſt only pray for mee, at firſt, might witneſſe, which yet appeare not ſo many on my ſide, as there were men in Armes liſted againſt me; my unpreparedneſſe for a War may well diſ-hearten thoſe that would help me; while it argues (truly) my unwillingneſſe to fight; yet it teſtifies for me, that I am ſet on the defenſive part; having ſo little hopes or power to offend others, that I have none to defend my ſelfe, or to preſerve what is mine own from their præreption.

No man can doubt but they prevented me in their purpoſes, as well as their injuries, who are ſo much beforehand in their preparations againſt me, and ſurpriſalls of my ſtrength. Such as are not for Them, yet dare not be for me; ſo over-aw'd is their Loyalty by the others numbers & terrors. I believe my Innocency, and unpreparedneſſe to aſſert my Rights

Rights and Honour, makes me the more guilty in their eſteeme; who would not ſo eaſily have declared a Warre againſt me, if I had firſt aſſaulted them.

They knew my chiefeſt Armes left me, were thoſe only, which the Ancient Chriſtians were wont to uſe againſt their Perſecutors, Prayers and Teares. Theſe may ſerve a good mans turne, if not to Conquer as a Souldier, yet to ſuffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of me, & ſurprizing my Caſtles, Forts, Armes, and Navy, with the Militia, is ſo farre beſt for me, That it may drive me from putting any truſt in the arme of fleſh, and wholly to caſt my ſelfe into the protection of the living God, who can ſave by few, or none, as well as by many.

He that made the greedy Ravens to be *Elias* Caterers, and bring him foode may alſo make their ſurpriſall of outward force and defence, an opportunitie to ſhew me the ſpeciall ſupport of his power and protection.

I thank God I reckon not now the want of the *Militia* ſo much in reference to my own protection as my Peoples.

Their many and ſore oppreſſions grieve me, I am above my owne, what I want in the hands of Force & Power, I have in the wings of Faith and Prayer

But this is the ſtrange method theſe men will needs take to reſolve their riddle of making me a glorious King, by taking away my Kingly power: thus I ſhall become a ſupport to my Friends, & a Terrour to my Enemies by being unable to ſuccour the one, or ſuppreſſe the other.

For thus have they deſigned, & propoſed to me the new modelling of Soveraignty and Kingſhip, as without any reality of power, ſo without any neceſſity of ſubjection & obedience: That the Majeſtie of the Kings of *England* might hereafter, hang like *Mahomets* Tomb, by a magnetique Charme, between the Power and Priviledges of the two Houſes, in an aiery imagination of Regalitie.

But I believe the ſurfeit of too much Power, which ſome men have greedily ſeized on, and now ſeeke wholy to devour, will ere long make the Commonwealth ſick, both of it and them, ſince they cannot well digeſt it; Soveraigne Power in Subjects ſeldome agreeing with

with the ſtomacks of fellow Subjects.

Yet I have even in this point of the conſtant *Militia* ſought, by ſatisfying their fears, and importunities, both to ſecure My Friends, and overcome Mine Enemies, to gaine the peace of all, by depriving My ſelfe of a ſole power to help, or hurt any: yeilding the *Militia* (which is My undoubted Right no leſſe than the Crowne) to be diſpoſed of as the two Houſes ſhall think fit, during My time.

So willing am I to bury all Jealouſies in them, of Me, and to live above all Jealouſies of them, as to my ſelf; I deſire not to be ſafer than I wiſh them and my People; If I had the ſole actuall diſpoſing of the *Militia*, I could not protect my People, further than they protected me, and themſelves: ſo that the uſe of the *Militia* is mutuall. I would but defend my ſelf ſo far; as to be able to defend my good Subjects from thoſe mens violence and fraud, who conſcious to their owne evill merits, and deſignes, will needs perſwade the World, that none but Wolves are fit to bee truſted with the cuſtody of the Shepherd and his

Flock. Miſerable experience hath taught My Subjects, ſince Power hath been wreſted from Me, and imployed aganiſt Me and Them! that neither can be ſafe if both be not in ſuch a way as the Law hath entruſted the publique ſafety and welfare.

Yet even this Conceſſion of mine as to the exerciſe of the *Militia*, ſo vaſt and large, is not ſatisfactory to ſome men; which ſeem to bee Enemies not to me onely, but to all monarchy; and are reſolved to tranſmit to poſterity ſuch Jealouſies of the Crowne, as they ſhould never permit it to enjoy its juſt and neceſſary Rights, in point of Power; to which (at laſt) all Law is reſolved, while thereby it is beſt protected.

But here Honour and Juſtice due to my Succeſſors, forbid me to yeild to ſuch a totall alienation of that power from them, which civillity and duty no leſſe then honour) ſhould have asked of me.

For, although I can be content to Eclypſe my own beames, to ſatisfie their feares; who think they muſt needs bee ſcorched or blinded, if I ſhould ſhine in the

the full luſtre of a Kingly power, where-with God and the Lawes have inveſted me: yet I will never conſent to put out the Sun of Soveraignty to all Poſterity, and ſucceeding Kings; whoſe juſt recoverie of their Rights from unjuſt uſurpations and extortions, ſhall never be prejudiced or obſtructed by any Act of mine, which indeed would not be more injurious to ſucceeding Kings, than to my Subjects; whom I deſire to leave in a condition not wholly deſperate for the future; ſo as by a Law to be ever ſubjected to thoſe many factious diſtractions which muſt needs follow the many-headed *Hydra* of Government: which as it makes a ſhew to the People to have more eyes to fore-ſee; ſo they will find it hath more mouthes too, which muſt bee ſatisfied: and (at beſt) it hath rather a monſtroſity, than any thing of perfection, beyond that of right Monarchy; where counſell may bee in many as the ſenſes, but the Supreme Power can be but in One as the Head.

Happily when men have tryed the horrours and malignant influence which

will certainly follow My enforced darkneſſe and Eclypſe (occaſioned by the interpoſition and ſhadow of that body, which as the moone receiveth its chiefeſt light from Me) they will at length more eſteeme and welcome the reſtored glory and bleſſing of the Suns light.

And if at preſent I may ſeeme by my receding ſo much from the uſe of my Right in the Power of the *Militia*, to come ſhort of the diſcharge of that truſt to which I am ſworne for my Peoples protection; I conceive thoſe men are guilty of the enforced perjury, (if ſo it may ſeeme) who compell me to take this new and ſtrange way of diſcharging my truſt, by ſeeming to deſert it; of protecting my Subjects by expoſing my ſelfe to danger or diſhonour, for their ſafety and quiet.

Which in the conflicts of Civill War and advantages of Power cannot bee effected but by ſome ſide yeilding; to which the greateſt love of the pub'ique Peace, and the firmeſt aſſurance of Gods protection (ariſing from a good conſcience) doth more invite me, than can bee

bee expected from other mens fears; which arising from the injustice of their actions (though never so successefull) yet dare not adventure their Authors upon any other way of safety then that of the Sword and *Militia*; which yet are but weake defences against the stroaks of divine vengeance, which will overtake; or of mens own consciences, which alwaies attend injurious perpetrations.

For my self, I do not think that I can want any thing which providentiall necessity is pleased to take from me, in order to my Peoples tranquility and Gods glory, whose protection is sufficient for me; and he is able by his being with me, abundantly to compensate to me, as he did to *Job*, what ever honour, power, or liberty the Caldeans, the Sabeans, or the Devill himselfe can depriveme of.

Although they take from me all defence of Armes and *Militia*, all refuge by land, of Forts, and Castles, all flight by Sea in my Ships and Navy; yea, though they study to rob me of the Hearts of my Subjects, the greatest Treasure and best ammunition of a King,

King, yet cannot they deprive me of my own innocency, or Gods mercy nor obſtruct my way to Heaven.

Therefore, O my God, to thee I flie for help, if thou wilt be on my ſide, I ſhall have more with me then can be againſt me.

There is none in Heaven, or in Earth, that I deſire in compariſon of thee: In the loſſe of all, be thou more than all to me: make haſte to ſuccour me, thou that never faileſt them, that put their truſt in thee.

Thou ſeeſt I have no power to oppoſe them that come againſt me, who are encouraged to fight under the pretence of fighting for me: But my eyes are toward thee.

Thou needeſt no help, nor ſhall I, if I may have thine; If not to conquer, yet at leaſt to ſuffer.

If thou delighteſt not in my ſafety, and proſperity, behold here I am willing to be reduced to what thou wilt have me; whoſe Judgements oft begin with thy owne Children.

I am content to be nothing, that thou mayſt be all.

Thou haſt taught me, That no King can be ſaved by the multitude of an Hoſt; but yet thou canſt ſave me by the multitude of thy mercies, who art the Lord of Hoſts, and the Father of mercies.

Help me, O Lord, who am ſore diſtreſſed on every ſide, yet be thou on my ſide, and I ſhall not feare what man can doe unto Mee.

I will give thy Juſtice the glory of my diſtreſſe.

O let thy mercy have the glory of my deliverance from them that perſecute my Soule!

By my ſinnes have I fought againſt thee, and robbed thee of thy glory, who am thy ſubject, and juſtly mayſt thou, by my owne Subjects ſtrip me of my ſtrength, and eclypſe my glorie.

But ſhew thy ſelfe, O my hope, and only refuge! Let not mine enemies ſay, there is no help for him in his God.

Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my foot-ſteps ſlip not.

Keep me as the apple of thine eye, hide me under the ſhadow of thy wings.

Shew thy marveilous loving kindneſſe, O thou that ſaveſt by thy right hand them that put their truſt in thee, from thoſe that riſe up againſt them.

From the wicked that oppreſſe me, from my deadly enemies that compaſſe me about.

Shew me the path of life. In thy preſence is fulneſſe of joy, at thy right hand there are pleaſures for evermore.

II *Upon the* 19. *Propoſitions firſt ſent to the* KING *and more afterwards.*

ALthough there be many things they demand, yet if theſe be all, I am

am glad to ſee at what price they ſet My owne ſafety, and My Peoples peace, which I cannot think I buy at too deare; a rate ſave onely the parting with My Conſcience & Honour. If nothing elſe will ſatisfie, I muſt chuſe rather to be as miſerable, and inglorious, as My enemies can make or wiſh me.

Some things here propounded to Me have been offered by me; Others are eaſily granted; The reſt (I think) ought not to be obtruded upon Me, with the point of the Sword; nor urged with the injuries of a War; when I have already declared that I cannot yeild to them, without violating My Conſcience: 'tis ſtrange, there can be no method of peace, but by making war upon My ſoul.

Here are many things required of Me, but I ſee nothing offer'd to Me, by the way of gratefull exchange of Honour; or any requitall for thoſe favours, I have, or can yet grant them.

This Honour they doe Me, to put Me on the giving part, which is more princely and divine. They cannot aske more then I can give, may I but reſerve

ſerve to My ſelfe the Incommuniable Jewell of my Conſcience; and not be forced to part with that, whoſe loſſe nothing can repaire or requite.

Some things (which they are pleaſed to propound) ſeeme, unreaſonable to me, and while I have any Maſtery of my Reaſon, how can they think I can conſent to them? Who know they are ſuch as are inconſiſtent with being either a King, or a good Chriſtian. My yeilding ſo much (as I have already) makes ſome men confident I will deny nothing.

The love I have of my peoples peace, hath (indeed) great influence upon me; but the love of Truth, and inward peace hath more.

Should I grant ſome things they require, I ſhould not ſo much weaken my outward ſtate of a King; as wound that inward quiet of my Conſcience, which ought to be, is, and ever ſhall be (by Gods grace) dearer to me then my Kingdomes.

Some things which a King might approve, yet in Honour and Policy are at ſome time to be denied, to ſome men, leſt

leſt he ſhould ſeeme not to dare to deny any thing; and give too much incouragement to unreaſonable demands, or importunities.

But to bind my ſelfe to a generall and implicite conſent, to what ever they ſhall deſire or propound, (for ſuch is one of their Propoſitions) were ſuch a titude of blind obedience, as never was expected from any free man, nor fit to be required of any man, much leſſe of a King, by his own ſubjects; any of whom he may poſſibly exceed as much in wiſdome, as He doth in place and power.

This were as if *Sampſon* ſhould have conſented, not only to binde his own hands, and cut off his haire, but put out his own eyes, that the *Philiſtins* might with the more ſafety mock, and abuſe him; which they choſe rather to do, and then quite to deſtroy him, when he was become ſo tame an object, and fit occaſion for their ſport and ſcorne.

Certainly, to exclude all power of deniall, ſeemes an arrogancy, leaſt of all becomming thoſe who pretend to make their addreſſes in an humble and loyall way

way of petitioning; who by that ſufficiently confeſſe their inferiority, which obligeth them to reſt, if not ſatisfied, yet quieted with ſuch an anſwer as the will and reaſon of their Superiour thinkes fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedome and power of Reaſon, to Conſent, or Diſſent, elſe it were very fooliſh and abſurd to ask, what another having not liberty to deny, neither hath power to grant.

But if this be my Right belonging to me, in Reaſon, as a man, and in Honour as a Soveraign King, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it be other then extreem injury to confine my Reaſon to a neceſſity of granting all they have a mind to ask, whoſe minds may be as differing from mine both in Reaſon and Honour, as their aims may be, their qualities are; which laſt God and the Laws have ſufficiently diſtinguiſht, making me their Soveraign: and them my Subjects: whoſe Propoſitions may ſoon prove violent oppoſitions, if once they gain to be neceſſary impoſitions upon the Regall Authority

Authority. Since no man ſeekes to limit and confine his King, in Reaſon, who hath not a ſecret aime to ſhare with him, or uſurp upon him in Power and Dominion.

But they would have me truſt to their moderation, & abandon mine own diſcretion, that ſo I might verifie what repreſentations ſome have made of me to the World; that I am fitter to be their Pupill then their Prince. Truly I am not ſo confident of my owne ſufficiency, as not willingly to admit the Counſell of others: But yet I am not ſo diffident of my ſelfe, as brutiſhly to ſubmit to any mens dictates, and at once to betray the Soveraignty of Reaſon in my Soul, and the Majeſty of my own Crown to any of my Subjects.

Leaſt of all have I any ground of credulity, to induce me fully to ſubmit to all the deſires of thoſe men, who will not admit, or doe refuſe, and neglect to vindicate the freedome of their owne and others, ſitting and Voting in Parliament.

Beſides, all men that know them,

know

know this, how young States-men (the moſt part) of theſe prepounders are; ſo that, till experience of one ſeven yeares hath ſhewed me, how well they can Govern themſelves, and ſo much power as is w eſted from Me, I ſhould be very fooliſh indeed, and unfaithfull in my Truſt, to put the reines both of Reaſon and Government wholly out of my own, into their hands, whoſe driving is already too much like *Jehues*; and whoſe forwardneſſe to aſcend the throne of Supremacy pretends more of *Phaeton* then of *Phebus*; God divert the Omen if it be his will.

They may remember that at beſt they ſit in Parliament. as My Subjects, not My Superiours; called to be My Counſellours, not my Dictatours: Their Summons extends to recommend their advice, not to command My Duty.

When firſt I heard of Propoſitions to be ſent Me, I expected either ſome good Laws, which have been antiquated by the courſe of time, or overlayd by the corruption of manners, had been deſired to a reſtauration of their vigour and due execution; or ſome evill cuſtomes preterlegall,

and abuſes perſonall had been to be removed: or ſome injuries done by My ſelfe, and others to the Common-weale, were to be repared; or ſome equrable offertures were to be tendred to Me, wherein the advantages of my Crowne being conſidered by them, might fairely induce Mee to condiſcend to what tended to my Subjects good, without any diminution of My ſelfe, whom nature, Law, Reaſon, and Religion, bind me (in the firſt place to preſerve: without which, 'tis impoſſible to preſerve My People according to my Place.

Or (at leaſt) I looked for ſuch moderate deſires of due Reformation of what was (indeed) amiſſe in Church and State, as might ſtill preſerve the foundation and eſſentials of Government in both; not ſhake or quite overthrow either of them, without any regard to the Lawes in force, the wiſdome and piety of former Parliaments, the ancient and univerſall practiſe of Chriſtian Churches; the Rights and Priviledges of particular men: nor yet any thing offered in lieu, or in the roome of what muſt be deſtroyed, which might

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at once reach the good end of the others Institution, and also supply its pretended defects, reforme its abuses, and satisfie sober and wise men, not with soft and specious words, pretending zeale and speciall piety, but with pregnant and solid reasons both Divine and Humane, which might justifie the abruptnesse and necessity of such vast alterations.

But in all their Propositions I can observe little to these kinds, or to these ends: Nothing of any Laws dis-joynted, which are to be restored, of any right invaded; of any justice to be un-obstructed; of any compensations to be made; of any impartiall reformation to be granted; to all, or any of which, Reason, Religion, true Policy, or any other humane motives, might induce me.

But as to the maine matters propounded by them at any time, in which is either great novelty, or difficulty. I perceive, that what were formerly look'd upon as Factions in the State, and Schismes in the Church, and so punishable by the Lawes, have now the confidence, by vulgar clamours, and assistance (chiefly

to demand not only Tolerations of themſelves, in their vanity, novely, and confuſion; but alſo Abilition of the Lawes againſt them: and a totall extirpation of that Government, whoſe Rights they have a mind to invade.

This, as to the maine; other Propoſitions are (for the moſt part) but as waſte paper in which thoſe are wrapped up to preſent them ſomewhat more handſomely.

Nor doe I ſo much wonder at the variety, and horrible novelty of ſome Propoſitions, (there being nothing ſo monſtrous, which ſome fancies are not prone to long for.)

This caſts me into, not an admiration, but an extaſie, how ſuch things ſhould have the fortune to be propounded in the name of the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England*: among whom, I am confident there was not a fourth part of the Members of either Houſe, whoſe judgements free, ſingle, and apart did approve or deſire ſuch deſtructive changes in the Governement of the Church,

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I am perſwaded there remaines in farre the Major part of both Houſes, (if free and full) ſo much Learning, Reaſon, Religion, and juſt moderation, as to know how to ſevere between the uſe and the abuſe of things, the inſtitution and the corruption, the Government, and the Miſ-government, the Primitive Patterns, and the aberrations or blottings of after Copies.

Sure they could not all, upon ſo little, or no Reaſon (as yet produced to the contrary) ſo ſoon renounce all regard to the Lawes in force, to antiquity, to the piety of their reforming Progenitors, to the proſperity of former times in this Church and State, under the preſent Government of the Church.

Yet, by a ſtrange fatality, theſe men ſuffer, either by their abſence, or ſilence, or negligence, or ſupine incredulity (believing all is good, which is guilded with ſhewes of Zeale and Reformation) their ptivate diſſenting in judgement to bee drawne into the common ſewer or ſtream of the preſent vogue and humour; which hath its cheife riſe, and abetment from

those popular clamours and Tumults: which ſerved to give life and ſtrength to the infinite activity of thoſe men, who ſtudied with all diligence and policy to improve their Innovating deſignes, the preſent diſtractions.

Such Armies of Propoſitions having ſo little in My Iudgement, of Reaſon, Iuſtice, and Religion on their ſide, as they had Tumult and Faction for their riſe, muſt not goe alone, but ever be backt and ſeconded with Armies of Souldiers: Though the ſecond ſhould prevayle againſt My Perſon, yet the firſt ſhall never overcome Me, further than I ſee cauſe; for I look not at their number and power, and ſo much, as I weigh their Reaſon and Iuſtice.

Had the two Houſes firſt ſued out their livery, and once effectually redeemed themſelves from the Wardſhip of the Tumults, (which can be no other than the Hounds that attend the cry, and hollow of thoſe Men, who hunt after Factious, and private Deſigns, to the ruin of Church and State.)

Did My Iudgement tell me, that the Propo-

Propoſitions ſent to Me were the Reſults of the Major part of their Votes, who exerciſe their freedom, as well as they have a right to ſit in Parliament: I ſhould then ſuſpect my own judgement, for not ſpeedily and fully concurring with every one of them.

For, I have charity enough to thinke, there are wiſe men among them: and humility to think, that, as in ſome things I may want, ſo 'tis fit I ſhould uſe their advice, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wiſdom ſuch a compleatneſſe and inerrability as to exclude My ſelfe; ſince none of them hath that part to Act, that Truſt to diſcharge, nor that Eſtate and Honour to preſerve as my ſelfe; without whoſe Reaſon concurrent with theirs (as the Suns influence is neceſſary in all natures productions) they cannot beget, or bring forth any one compleat and authorative Act of publique wiſdom, which makes the Laws.

But the unreaſonableneſſe of ſome Propoſitions is not more evident to Me than this is, That they are not the joynt and

free desires of those in their Major number, who are of right to Sit and Vote and in Parliament.

For, many of them savour very strong of that old leaven of Innovations, masked under the name of Reformation; (which in My two last famous Predecessours daies, heaved at, and sometime threatned both Prince, and Parliament:) But, I am sure was never wont so farre to infect the whole masse of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdome; however it dispersed among the Vulgar: Nor was it it likely to taint so suddenly the Major part of both Houses, as that they should unanimously desire, and affect so enormous and dangerous innovations in Church and State, contrary to their former education, practise, and judgement.

Nor that I am ignorant how the choice of many Members was carried with much faction in the Countries: some thirsting after nothing more then a passionate revenge of what ever displeasure they had conceived against Me, my Court, or the Clergy.

But

But all reaſon bids Mee impute theſe ſudden and vaſt deſires of change to thoſe few, who armed themſelves with the many-headed and many-handed Tumults.

No leſſe doth Reaſon, Honor, and Safety both of Church and State command Me, to chew ſuch morſels, before I let them downe: If the ſtraitneſſe of my Conſcience will not give me leave to ſwallow down ſuch Came's as others do of Sacriledge, and injuſtice both to God and man, they have no more cauſe to quarrell with me, then for this, that My throat is not ſo wide as theirs. Yet by *Gods* help I am reſolved, that nothing of paſſion or peeviſhneſſe, or liſt to contradict, or vanity to ſhew my negative power, ſhall have any byas upon my judgement, to make me gratifie my will, by denying any thing, which my Reaſon and Conſcience commands me not.

Nor on the other ſide, will I conſent to more then Reaſon, Iuſtice, Honour, and Religion perſwade me, to be for Gods glory, the Churches good, my Peoples welfare, and my own peace.

I will ſtudy to ſatisfie my Parliament and my People; but I will never, for fear or flattery, gratifie any Faction, how potent ſoever; for this were to nouriſh the diſeaſe, and oppreſſe the body.

Although many mens loyalty and prudence are terrified from giving me, that free, and faithfull counſell, which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want; yet none can hinder me from craving of the counſell of that mighty Counſellour, who can both ſuggeſt what is beſt, and incline my heart ſtedfaſtly to follow it.

O thou firſt and eternall Reaſon, whoſe Wiſdome is fortified with Omnipotence, furniſh thy Servant, firſt with clearer diſcoveries of Truth, Reaſon, and Juſtice, in My Underſtanding: then ſo confirme my will and reſolution to adhere to them, that no terrours, injuries, or oppreſſions of my Enemies may ever inforce Me againſt thoſe rules, which thou by them haſt planted in My Conſcience.

Thou never madeſt Mee a King, that I ſhould be leſſe then a Man; and not dare to ſay, Yea, or Nay, as I ſee cauſe; which

freedome

freedome is not denyed to the meanest creature, that hath use of Reason, and liberty of speech.

Shall that be blameable in Me, which is commendable veracity and constancy in others.

Thou seest, O Lord, with what partiality, and injustice, they deny that freedome to Me their KING, *which Thou hast given to all Men; and which Themselves pertinaciously challenge to themselves; while they are so tender of the least breach of their priviledges.*

To Thee I make my supplication, who canst guide us by an unerring rule, through Thy perplexed Labyrinths of our owne thoughts, and other mens proposalls; which, I have some cause to suspect, are purposely cast as snares, that by My granting or denying them, I might bee more entangled in those difficulties, wherewith they lye in waite to afflict Me.

O Lord, make Thy way plaine before Me.

Let not My owne sinfull passions cloud, or divert thy sacred suggestions.

Let Thy Glory be My end, Thy Word

My

My rule, and then Thy will bee done.

I cannot pleaſe all, I care not to pleaſe ſome men; If I may be happy to pleaſe the, I need not feare whom I diſpleaſe.

Thou that makeſt the wiſdome of the world fooliſhneſſe, and takeſt in their owne devices, ſuch as are wiſe in their owne conceits, make Me wiſe by thy Truth, for thy honour, My Kingdomes generall good, and My owne ſoules ſalvation, and I ſhall not much regard the Worlds opinion, or diminution of Me.

The leſſe wiſdome they are willing to impute to Me, the more they ſhall be convinced of thy wiſdome directing Me, while I deny nothing fit to be granted, out of croſneſſe, or humour; nor grant any thing which is to bee denied, out of any feare or flattery of Men.

Suffer Me not to be guilty or unhappy, by willing, or inconſiderate advancing any mens deſignes, which are injurious to the publique good, while I confirme them by My conſent.

Nor let Me be any occaſion to hinder or defraud the publique of what is beſt, by any morose or perverſe diſſentings.

Make

Make me ſo humbly charitable, as to follow their adviſe when it appears to be for the publique good, of whoſe affections to me, I have yet but few evidences to aſſure me.

Thou canſt as well bleſſe honeſt errours, as blaſt fraudulent counſels.

Since we muſt give an account of every evill and idle word in private, at thy Tribunall; Lord make me carefull of thoſe ſolemn Declarations of my mind which are like to have the greateſt influence upon the Publique either for woe, or weale.

The leſſe others conſider what they aske, make me the more ſolicitous what I anſwer.

Though mine own, and my peoples preſſures are grievous, and peace would be very pleaſing; yet Lord, never ſuffer me to avoid the one, or purchaſe the other with the leaſt expenſe or waſte of my Conſcience; whereof thou O Lord only art more deſervedly Maſter than my ſelfe.

12. *Upon the Rebellion, and troubles in* Ireland.

THe Commotions in Ireland were so suddain, and so violent, that it was hard at first either to dis-discern the rise, or apply a remedy to that precipitant Rebellion.

Indeed the sea of blood, which hath there been cruelly and barbarously shed, is enough to drowne any man in eternall both infamy and misery, whom God shal find the malicious Authour or Instigator of its effusion.

It fell out as a most unhappy advantage to some mens malice against Me; that when they had impudence enough to lay any thing to my charge, this bloudy opportunity should be offered them, with which I must bee asperſed. Although there was nothing which could be more abhorred to me, being so ful of sin against God, disloyalty to My self, and destructive to my Subjects.

Some men tooke it very ill, not to bee

believed,

beleeved, when they affirmed that what the Irish Rebells did, was done with my privity (at least) if not by My Commission: But those knew too well, that it is no newes for some of my Subjects to fight not onely without my Commission, but againw my Command and Person too; yet all the while to pretend, they fight by My Authority, and for My Safety.

I would to God the Irish had nothing to alledg for their imitation against those, whose blame must needs be greater, by how much Protestant Principles are more against all Rebellion against Princes, then those of Papists. Nor will the goodnesse of mens intentions excuse the scandall, and contagion of their Examples.

But whoever faile of their Duty toward me, I must beare the blame; this Honour my Enemies have alwayes done me, to thinke moderate injuries not proportionate to Me, nor competent trials, either of my patience under them, or my pardon of them.

Therefore with exquisite malice they

have

have mixed the gall and vinegar of falſity and contempt, with the cup of my Affliction; Charging me not onely with untruths, but ſuch, as whereinI have the greateſt ſhare of loſſe and diſhonour by what is committed: whereby (in all Policy, Reaſon, and Religion, having leaſt cauſe to give the leaſt conſent, and moſt grounds of utter deteſtation) I might be repreſented by them to the world the more inhumane and barbarous: Like ſome Cyclopick monſter, whom nothing will ſerve to eat and drinke, but the fleſh and blood of My own Subjects; in whoſe common welfare my intereſt lies as much as ſome mens doth in their perturbations: who thinke they cannot doe well but in evill times, nor ſo cunningly as in laying the odium of thoſe ſad events on others, wherewith themſelves are the moſt pleaſed, and whereof they have been not the leaſt occaſion.

And certainely, 'tis thought by many wiſemen, that the preposterous rigour, and unreaſonable ſeverity which ſome men carried before them in England, was

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not the leaſt incentive, that kindled, and blew up into thoſe horrid flames, the ſparkes of diſcontent, which wanted not pre-diſpoſed fewell for Rebellion in *Ireland*; where diſpaire being added to their former diſcontents, and the feares of utter extirpation to their wonted oppreſſions, it was eaſie to provoke to an open Rebellion, a people prone enough, to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by ſome Principles of their Religion, and the naturall deſires of Liberty; both to exempt themſelves from their preſent reſtraints, and to prevent thoſe after rigours, wherewith they ſaw themſelves apparently threatned, by the covetous zeal, and uncharitable fury of ſome men, who thinke it a great Argument of the truth of their Religion, to endure no other but their own.

God knowes, as I can with Truth waſh my hands in Innocency, as to any guilt in that Rebellion; ſo I might waſh them in my Teares, as to the ſad apprehenſions I had, to ſee it ſpread ſo farre, and make ſuch waſte. And this in a time when diſtractions, and jealouſies here in *Eng-*

land, made moſt men rather intent to their owne ſafety, or deſignes they were driving, then to the reliefe of thoſe, who were every day inhumanely butchered in *Ireland*: Whoſe teares and blood might, if nothing elſe, have quenched or at leaſt for a time, repreſſed and ſmothered thoſe ſparks of Civill diſſentions, and jealouſies, which in *England* ſome men moſt induſtriouſly ſcattered.

I would to God no man had been leſſe efected with *Irelands* ſad eſtate then My ſelfe; I offered to goe my ſelfe in Perſon upon that expedition; But ſome men were either afraid I ſhould have any one Kingdome quieted; or loath they were to ſhoot at any marke here leſſe then my ſelfe; or that any ſhould have the glory of my deſtruction but themſelves. Had My many offers been accepted, I am confident neither the ruine had been ſo great, nor the calamity ſo long, nor the remedy ſo deſperate.

So that next to the ſinne of thoſe, who began that Rebellion, theirs muſt needs be: who either hindred the ſpeedy ſuppreſſing of it by Domeſtick diſſentions,

or

or diverted the Aides, or exaſperated the Rebells to the moſt deſperate reſolutions and actions, by threatning all extremities, not onely to the known heads, and cheif incendiaries, but even to the whole community of that Nation; Reſolving to deſtroy Root and Branch, men, women, and children; without any regard to thoſe uſual pleas for Mercy, which Conquerours, not wholly barbarous, are wont to heare from their own breaſts, in the behalfe of thoſe, whoſe oppreſſive feares, rather then their malice, engaged them; or whoſe imbecillity for Sex and Age was ſuch, as they could neither lift up a hand againſt them, or diſtinguiſh between their right hand and their left: Which prepoſterous, and (I think) unevangelicall Zeale is too like that of the rebuked Diſciples, who would goe no lower in their revenge, then to call for fire from Heaven upon whole Cities, for the repulſe or neglect of a few, or like that of *Jacobs* ſonnes, which the Father both blamed and curſed: chuſing rather to uſe all extremities, which might drive them to deſperate obſtinacy, then to ap-

ply moderate remedies; ſuch as might puniſh ſome with exemplary Iuſtice, yet diſarme others with tenders of Mercy upon their ſubmiſſion, and our protection of them, from the fury of thoſe who would ſoon drowne them, if they refuſed to ſwim downe the popular ſtreame with them.

But ſome kind of Zeal counts all mercifull moderation, luke-warmneſſe; and had rather be cruell then counted cold, and is not ſeldome more greedy to kill the Beare for his skin, then for any harme he hath done. The confiſcation of mens eſtates being more beneficiall, then the charity of ſaving their lives, or reforming their Errours.

When all proportionable ſuccours of the poor Proteſtants in *Ireland* (who were daily maſſacred, and overborne with numbers of now deſperate Enemies) was diverted and obſtructed here; I was earneſtly entreated, and generally adviſed by the chief of the Proteſtant party there, to get them ſome reſpite and breathing by a ceſſation, without which they ſaw no probability (unleſſe by miracle) to preſerve

ſerve the remnant that had yet eſcaped: God knows with how much commiſeration and ſolicitous caution I carried on that buſineſſe, by perſons of Honour and Integrity, that ſo I might neither incourage the Rebells Inſolence, nor diſcourage the Proteſtants Loyaltie and Patience.

Yet when this was effected in the beſt ſort, that the neceſſity and difficulty of affaires would then permit, *I* was then to ſuffer againe in My Reputation and Honour, becauſe I ſuffered not the Rebells utterly to devour the remaining handfuls of the Proteſtants there.

I thought, that in all reaſon, the gaining of that reſpite could not bee ſo much to the Rebels advantages (which ſome have highly calumniated againſt Mee) as it might have been for the Proteſtants future, as well as preſent ſafety; If during the time of that Ceſſation, ſome men had had the grace to have laid *Irelands* ſad condition more to heart; and laid aſide thoſe violent motions, which were here carried on by thoſe, that had better skill to let bloud then to ſtanch it.

But in all the misconstructions of My actions, (which are prone to find more credulity in men to what is false, and evill, then love or charity to what is true or good) as I have no Iudge but God above Mee, so I can have comfort to appeale to his omniscience, who doth not therefore deny my Innocence, because he is pleased so far to try my patience, as he did his servant *Iob's*.

I have enough to doe to looke to My owne Conscience, and the faithfull discharge of my Trust as a King; I have scarce leasure to consider those swarmes of reproaches, which issue out of some mens mouthes and hearts, as easily as smoake or sparkes doe out of a furnace; much lesse to make such prolix Apologies, as might give those men satisfaction, who conscious to their owne depth of wickednesse, are loath to believe any man not to bee as bad as themselves.

It is Kingly to do well and hear ill: If I can but act the one, I shall not much regard to bear the other.

I thank God I can heare with patience,

as

as bad as my worſt enemies can falſly ſay. And I hope I ſhal ſtill do better then they deſire, or deſerve *I* ſhould.

I believe it will at laſt appear that they who firſt began to embroyle my other Kindomes, are in great part guilty, if not of the firſt letting out, yet of the not timely ſtopping thoſe horrid effuſions of blood in *Ireland*.

Which (whatever my Enemies pleaſe to ſay or think) I looke upon, as that of my other Kingdomes, exhauſted out of my own veines; no man being ſo much weakned by it, as my ſelfe; And I hope, though mens unſatiable cruelties never will, yet the mercy of God will at length ſay to His Iuſtice, *It is enough:* and command the Sword of Civill Warres to ſheath it ſelfe: His merciſull juſtice intending, I truſt, not our utter confuſion, but our cure: the abatement of our ſinnes, not the deſolating of theſe Nations.

O my God, let thoſe infinite mercies prevent us once againe, which I and My Kingdom have formerly abuſed, and can never de-

ſerve, ſhould bee reſtored.

Thou ſeeſt how much cruelty among Chriſtians is acted under the colour of Religion, as if we could not be Chriſtians, unleſſe we crucifie one another.

Becauſe wee have not more loved thy Truth, and practiſed in Charity, thou haſt ſuffered a ſpirit of Errour, and bitterneſſe, of mutuall and mortall hatred to riſe among us.

O Lord, forgive wherein we have ſinned, and ſanctifie what we have ſuffered.

Let our Repentance be our recovery, as our great ſins have been our ruine.

Let not the miſeries I and my Kingdomes have hitherto ſuffered ſeem ſmall to thee: but make our ſins appeare to our Conſciences, as they are repreſented in the glaſſe of thy judgments; for thou never puniſheſt ſmal failings with ſo ſevere afflictions.

O therefore, according to the multitude of thy great mercies, pardon our ſins, and remove thy judgments which are very many, and very heavy.

Yet let our ſinnes bee ever more greevous to us, than thy judgements; and make us more willing to repent, than to be relieved;

firſt

first give us the peace of penitent consciences, and then the tranquility of united Kingdomes.

In the sea of our Saviours blood drowne our sinnes, and through this red sea our owne bloud bring us at last to a state of pietie, peace and plenty.

As my publique relations to all, make me share in all my Subjects sufferings; so give Me such a pious sense of them, as becomes a Christian King, and a loving Father of My people.

Let the scandalous and unjust reproaches cast upon Me, be as a breath, more to kindle my compassion: Give me grace to heap charitable coles of fire upon their heads to melt them, whose malice, or cruell zeal hath kindled, or hindred the quenching of those flames which have so much wasted my three Kingdomes.

O rescue and assist those poore Protestants Ireland, *whom thou hast hitherto preserved.*

And lead those in the waies of thy saving Truths, whose ignorance or errours have filled them with rebellious and destructive Principles; which they act under an opinion,

That

That they doe thee good ſervice.

Let the hand of thy Juſtice be againſt thoſe who maliciouſly and deſpitefully have raiſed, or fomented thoſe cruell and deſperate Wars.

Thou that art far from deſtroying the Innocent with the Guilty, and the Erroneous with the Malicious; Thou that hadſt pity on Niniveh *for the many Children that were therein, give not over the whole ſtock of that populous and ſeauced Nation; to the wrath of thoſe, whoſe covetouſneſſe makes them cruell; nor to their anger, which is too fierce, & therfore juſtly curſed.*

Preſerve, if it bee thy will, in the midſt of the Fornace of thy ſevere Juſtice a Poſteritie, which may praiſe thee for thy mercy.

And deale with Me, not according to mans unjuſt reproaches, but according to the Innocency of my hands in thy ſight.

If I have deſired, or delighted in the wofull day of my Kingdomes calamaties, if I have not earneſtly ſtudied, and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and compoſing of theſe bloody diſtractions: then let Thy hand be againſt Me and My Fathers houſe. O Lord, thou ſeeſt I have enemies enough of

men;

men; as I need not, ſo I ſhould not dare thus to imprecate thy curſe on mee and mine, if my Conſcience did not witneſſe my integrity, which thou O Lord knowest right well: But I truſt not to my own merit, but thy mercies; ſpare us O Lord, and be not angry with us for ever.

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13. *Upon the calling in of the* Scots, *and their Comming.*

THE *Scots* are a Nation, upon whom I have not onely common tyes of Nature, Soveraignty, and Bounty, with my Father of bleſſed memory; but alſo ſpeciall and late obligations of favours, having gratified the active Spirits among them ſo far, that I ſeemed to many, to preferre the deſires of that Party, before My owne intereſt and Honour. But, I ſee, Royal bounty emboldens ſome men to ask, and act beyond all bounds of modeſty and gratiude

My Charity, and Act of Pacification, forbids Me to reflect on former paſſages; where

wherein I ſhall ever be farre from letting any mans ingratitude, or inconſtancy, make me repent of what I granted them, for the publique good: I pray God it may ſo prove.

The comming againe of that Party into *England*, with an Army onely to conforme this Church to their late New modell, cannot but ſeeme as unreaſonable, as they would have thought the ſame meaſure offered from hence to themſelves.

Other errand I could never underſtand they had, (beſides thoſe common and vulgar flouriſhes for Religion and Liberty) ſave onely to confirme the Presbyterian Copy they had ſet, by making this Church write after them, though it were in bloudy Characters.

Which deſign and end, whether it will juſtifie the uſe of ſuch violent meanes before the divine Iuſtice, I leave to their Conſciences to judge, who have already felt the miſery of the meanes, but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kingdom, or that.

Such knots and croſeneſſe of grain being

ing objected here, as will hardly ſuffer that form which they cry up, as the onely juſt reformation, and ſetling of Government and Diſcipline in Churches, to go on ſo ſmoothly here, as it might do in *Scotland*; and was by them imagined would have done in *England*, when ſo many of the *Engliſh* Clergy, through levity or diſcontent, if no worſe paſſion, ſuddenly quitted their former engagements to Epiſcopacy, and faced about to their Presbytery.

It cannot but ſeeme either paſſion, or ſome ſelfe-ſeeking more then true Zeale, and pious Diſcretion, for any forraigne State or Church to preſcribe ſuch medicines for others, which themſelves have uſed, rather ſucceſſefully then commendably, not conſidering that the ſame Phyſick on different conſtitutions will have different operations; That may kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor doe *I* know any ſuch tough and malignant humours in the conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Church, which gentler applications then thoſe of an Army, might not eaſily have removed: Nor is it ſo proper

to

to hew out religious Reformations by the ſword, as to poliſh them by faire and equall diſputations among thoſe that are moſt concerned in the differences, whom not force, but Reaſon ought to convince.

But their deſigne now, ſeemed rather to cut off all diſputation here, then to procure a faire and equall one: For it was concluded there, that the *Engliſh* Clergy muſt conforme to the *Scots* patern before ever they could be heard, what they could ſay for themſelves, or againſt the others way.

I could have wiſhed fairer proceedings both for their credits, who urge things with ſuch violence; and for other mens Conſciences too, who can receive little ſatisfaction in theſe points which are maintained rather by Souldiers fighting in the Field, then Schollars diſputing in free and learned Synods.

Sure in matters of Religion thoſe truths gaine moſt on mens judgements and Conſciences, which are leaſt urged with ſecular violence, which weakens Truth with prejudices; and is unreaſonable to be uſed, till ſuch meanes of rationall

tionall conviction hath been applyed, as leaving no excuſe for ignorance, condemnes mens obſtinacy to deſerved penalties.

Which no charity will eaſily ſuſpect of ſo many learned and pious Church-men in England, who being alwaies bred up, and conformable to the Government of Epiſcopacy, cannot ſo ſoone renounce both their former opinion and practiſe, onely becauſe that party of the Scots will needs, by force aſſiſt a like Party here either to drive all Miniſters, as ſheep into the common fold of Presbytery, or deſtroy them; at leaſt fleece them, by depriving them of the benefit of their Flocks. If the Scotch ſole Presbytery were proved to be the onely inſtitution of Ieſus Chriſt, for all Churches Government; yet I believe it would be hard to prove that Chriſt had given thoſe Scots, or any other of my Subjects, Commiſſion by the Sword to ſet it up in any of My Kingdoms, without My Conſent.

VVhat reſpect and obedience Chriſt and his Apoſtles pay'd to the cheife Governours

vernours of States, where they lived is very cleare in the Gospell: but that he, or they ever commanded to setup such a parity of Presbyters, and in such a way as those Scots endeavour; I think is not very disputable.

If Presbytery in such a supremacy be an institution of Christ, sure it differs from all others; and is the first and onely point of Christianity, that was to be planted and watered with so much christian blood; whose effusions run in a streame so contrary to that of the Primitive planters, both of christianity and Episcopacy, which was with patient shedding of their own blood, not violent drawing of other mens; sure there is too much of man in it, to have much of Christ, none of whose institutions were carried on, or begunne with the temptations of Covetousnesse or Ambition; of both which this is vehemently suspected.

Yet was there never any thing upon the point, which those Scots had by Army or Commissioners to move me with, by their many solemne obtestations, and pious threatnings, but only this, to represent

sent to me the wonderfull necessity of setting up their Presbytery in *England*, to avoyd the further miseries of a Warre; which some men cheifly on this designe at first had begun, and now further engaged themselves to continue.

What hinders that any Sects, Shismes, or Heresies, if they can get but numbers, strength and opportunity may not according to this opinion & pattern, set up their wayes by the like methods of violence? all which Presbytery seekes to suppresse, and render odious under those names; when wise and learned men thinke, that nothing hath more markes of Schisme, and Sectarisme, then this Presbyterian way, both as to the Ancient, and still most Universall way of the Church government, and spetially to the particular lawes and Constitutions of this English church, which are not yet repealed, nor are like to bee for me, till I see more Rationall and Religious motives, Souldiers use to carry in their Knapsacks.

But we must leave the successe of all to God, who hath many wayes (having

first taken us off from the folly of our opinions, and fury of our passion) to teach us those rules of true Reason, and peaceable Wisdome, which is from above, tending most to Gods glory; and his Churches good; which I thinke my selfe so much the more bound in Conscience to attend, with the most judicious Zeale and care, by how much I esteeme the Church above the State the golry of Christ above mine Own; and the salvation of mens soules above the preservation of their Bodyes and Estates

Nor may any men, I thinke without sinne and presumption, forcibly endeavour to cast the Churches under my care and tuition, into the moulds they have fancied, and fashioned to their designes, till they have first gained my consent, and resolved both my owne and other mens Consciences by the strength of their Reasons.

Other violent motions, which are neither Manly, Christian, nor Loyall, shall never either shake or settle my Religion; nor any mens else who knowes what Religion meanes: And how farre it is removed

moved from all Faction, whose prope engine is force, the arbitrator of beasts, not of reasonable men, much lesse of humble Christians, and loyal Subjects, in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have such high conceits of themselves, that they care not what cost they lay out upon their opinions; especially those which have some temptation of gain, to recompence their losses and hazards.

Yet I was not more scandalized at the Scots Armyes comming in against my will, and their forfeiture of so many obligations of duty, and gratitude to mee: then I wondred how those here, could so much distrust Gods assistance, who so much pretended Gods cause to the People, as if they had the certainty of some divine Revelation; considering they were more then competently furnished with my Subjects, Armes, and Ammunition; My Navy by Sea, my Forts, Castles, and Cities by Land.

But I find, that men jealous of the justifiablenesse of their doings, and designs before God, never thinke they have humane

mane ſtrength enough to carry their work on, ſeem it never ſo plauſible to the People; what cannot be juſtified in Law or Religion, had need to be fortified with Power.

And yet ſuch is the inconſtancy that attends all minds engaged in violent motion, that whom ſome of them one while earneſtly invite to come into their aſſiſtance; others of them ſoone after are weary of, and with nauſeating caſt them out: what one Party thought to rivet to a ſetledneſſe by the ſtrength and influence of the Scots, that the other rejects and contemnes; at once, deſpiſing the Kirk Government and Diſcipline of the Scots, and fruſtrating the ſucceſſe of ſo chargeable more then charitable aſſiſtance: For, ſure the Church of England might have purchaſed at a far cheaper rate, the truth and happineſſe of Reformed government and diſcipline (if it had been wanting) though it had entertained the beſt Divines of Chriſtendom for their advice in a ful and free Synod; which I was ever willing to, and deſirous of, that matters being impartially ſetled, might

bee

be more ſatisfactory to all, and more durable.

But much of Gods juſtice, and mans folly will at length bee diſcovered, through all the filmes and pretenſions of Religion, in which Politicians wrappe up their deſignes; In vaine do men hope to build their piety on the ruins of Loyalty. Nor can thoſe conſiderations or deſignes be durable, when Subjects make bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretence of ſetting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But as my beſt ſubjects of Scotland never deſerted me, ſo I cannot thinke that the moſt are gone ſo far from me, in a prodigality of their love and reſpects toward me, as to make me to diſpaire of their return; when beſides the bonds of nature & Conſcience which they have to me, all Reaſon and true Policy will teach them, that their chiefeſt intereſt conſiſts in their fidelity to the Crown, not in their ſerviceableſſe to any Party of the People, to a neglect and betraying of my Safety and Honour for their own advantages: However the leſſe cauſe I have to truſt to men, the more I ſhall apply my ſelf to God.

The troubles of my Soule are enlarged, O my Lord bring thou me out of distresse.

Lord direct thy servant in the waies of that pious simplicity, which is the best policy.

Deliver me from the combined strength of those, who have so much of the Serpents subtletie that they forget the Doves innocency.

Though hand joyn in hand, yet let them not prevaile against my soule to the betraying of my Conscience and Honour.

Thou, O Lord, canst turn the hearts of those Parties in both Nations, as thou didst the men of Iudah *and* Israel, *to restore* David *with as much loyal Zeale, as they did with constancy and eagernesse pursue him.*

Preserve the love of thy Truth and uprightnesse in Me, and I shall not despair of my Subjects affections returning towards Me.

Thou canst soon cause the over flowing Seas to ebbe, and retire back againe to the bounds which thou hast appointed for them.

O my God, I trust in thee, let me not be ashamed; let not my enemies triumph over me.

Let them be ashamed who transgresse without a cause; let them be turned back that persecute my soul.

Let integrity and uprightnesse preserve

Me

Me, for I waite on thee, O Lord.
Redeeme thy Church, O God, out of all its Troubles.

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14. *Upon the Covenant.*

THe *Presbyterian Scots* are not to be hired at the ordinary rate of Auxiliaries: nothing will induce them to engage, til those that call them in, have pawned their soules to them by a Solemn League and Covenant.

Where many engines of Religious and faire pretensions are brought cheifly to batter, or raise Episcopacy; This they make the grand evill Spirit, which with some other Imps purposely added, to make it more odious, and terrible to the Vulgar, must by so solemn a charme and exorcism be cast out of this Church, after more then a thousand yeares possession here, from the first plantation of Christianity in this Island, and an universall prescription of time and practise in all other Churches since the Apostles times til this last Century.

But

But no antiquity must plead for it, Presbytery, like a young Heyre, thinks the Father hath lived long enough, and impatient not to be in the Bishops Chaire and Authority (though Lay-men goe away with the Revenues) all art is used to sinke Episcopacy, and lanch Presbytery in *England*; which was lately boyed up in *Scotland* by the like Artifice of a Covenant.

Although I am unsatisfied with many passages in that Covenant (some referring to my selfe with very dubious and dangerous limitations) yet I cheifly wonder at the designe and drift touching the Discipline and Government of the Church; and such a manner of carrying them on to new wayes, by Oaths and Covenants, where it is hard for men to be engaged by no lesse then swearing for, or against those things, which are of no clear moral necessity; but very disputable and controverted among learned and godly men: wherto the application of Oaths can hardly be made and enjoyned with that judgment and certainty in ones self, or that charity and candour to others of different opinion, as I thinke Religion requires, which never refuses

refuses fair and equable deliberations; yea, and dissentings too, in matters onely probable.

The enjoyning of Oaths upon People must needs in things doubtfull be dangerous, as is in things unlawfull, damnable; and no lesse superfluous, where former religious and legall Engagements, bound men sufficiently, to all necessary duties. Nor can I see how they will reconcile such an Innovating Oath and Covenant with that former Protestation which was so lately taken, to maintain the Religion est ablished in the Church of *England*: since they count Discipline so great a part of Religion.

But ambitious minds never thinke they have laid gins and snares enough to catch and hold the Vulgar credulity; for by such politick and seemly pious stratagems, they keep the populary fast to their parties under the terror of perjury: Whereas certainely all honest and wise men ever thought themselves sufficiently bound by former ties of Religion, Allegiance, and Laws, to God and man.

Nor can such after-Contracts, devised and

and imposed by a few men in a declared Party without My consent, and without any like power or precident from Gods or mans laws, be ever thought by judicious men sufficient either to absolve or slacken those morall and eternall bonds of duty which lie upon all My Subjects consciences both to God and Me.

Yet as things now stand, good men shall least offend God or Me by keeping their Covenant in honest and lawfull waies; since I have the charity to thinke, that the chief end of the Covenant in such mens intentions, was, to preserve Religion in purity, and the Kingdome in peace: To other then such ends and meanes they cannot thinke themselves engaged: nor will those, that have any true touches of Conscience endeavour to carry on the best designes, (much lesse such as are, and daily will be more apparently factious and ambitious) by any unlawfull meanes, under that title of the Covenant, unlesse they dare preferre ambiguous, dangerous, and un-authorized novelties, before their known and sworn duties, which are indispensable both to God and my selfe.

I am prone to believe and hope, That many who tooke the Covenant, are yet firme to this judgement, that such later Vows, Oaths, or Leagues, can never blot out those former gravings, and characters, which by just and lawfull Oathes were made upon their soules.

That which makes such Confederations by way of solemn Leagues and Covenants more to be suspected is, That they are the common road, used in all factious and powerfull perturbations of State or Church: When formalities of extraordinary zeal and piety are never more studied and elaborate, then, when Politicians most agitate desperate designs against all that is set'ed or sacred in Religion, and Laws which by such screwes are cunningly yet forcibly wrested by secret steps, and lesse sensible degrees, from their knowne rule and wonted practise, to comply with the humours of those men, who ayme to subdue all to their own wil and power, under the disguises of holy Combinations.

Which cords and wythes will hold mens consciences no longer, then force attends and twists them: for every man soon

ſoon grows his own Pope, and eaſily abſolves himſelfe of thoſe ties, which, not the commands of Gods word, or the Laws of the Land, but onely the ſubtilty and terrour of a Party caſts upon him; either ſuperfluous and vaine, when they were ſufficiently tied before; or fraudulent and injurious, if by other ſuch after-ligaments they finde the Impoſers really ayming to diſſolve, or ſuſpend their former, juſt, and neceſſary obligations.

Indeed, ſuch illegall wayes ſeldome, or never intend the engaging men more to dutyes, but onely to Parties; therefore it is not regard how they keep their Covenants in point of piety pretended, provided they adhere firmely to the Party and Deſign intended.

I ſee the Impoſers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna (not that it came from Heaven, as this did) agreeable to every mans palate and reliſh, who will but ſwallow it: They admit any mens ſenſe of it, the diverſe or contrary; with any ſalvoes, cautions, and reſervations, ſo as they croſſe not though chiefe

chiefe Deſigne which is ladd againſt the Church and Me.

It is enough if they get but the reputation of a ſeeming encreaſe to their Party; So little doe men remember that God is mocked.

In ſuch latitudes of ſenſe, I beleeve many that love Mee and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not ſo fondly and ſuperſtitiouſly taken by it, as now to act clearly againſt all piety and loyalty: who firſt yeilded to it, more to prevent that imminent violence and ruin, which hung over their heads in caſe they wholly refuſed it, then for any value of it, or devotion to it.

Wherein, the latitude of ſome generall clauſes may (perhaps) ſerve ſomewhat relieve them, as of *Doing and endeavouring what lawfully they may, in their Places and Callings, and according to the Word of God:* for, theſe (indeed) carry no man beyond thoſe bounds of good conſcience, which are certain and fixed, either in Gods Laws as to the general; or the Laws of the State and Kingdom, as to the particular regulation and exerciſe of mens duties.

I would to God ſuch as glory moſt in the name of *Covenanters*, would keepe themſelves within thoſe lawfull bounds, to which God hath called them: Surely it were the beſt way to expiate the raſhneſſe of taking it: which muſt needs then appeare, when beſides the want of a full and lawfull Authority at firſt to enjoyne it, it ſhall actually be carried on beyond and againſt thoſe ends which were in it ſpecified and pretended. I willingly forgive ſuch mens taking the Covenant, who keep it within ſuch bounds of Piety, Law, and Loyalty, as can never hurt either the Church, My ſelf, or the publique Peace: Againſt which, no mans lawfull Calling can engage him.

As for that Reformation of the Church which the Covenant pretends, I cannot thinke it juſt or comely, that by the partiall advice of a few Divines (of ſo ſoft and ſervile tempers, as diſpoſed them to ſo ſudden acting and compliance, contrarie to their former judgments, profeſſion, and practiſe) ſuch foul ſcandals and ſuſpitions ſhould be caſt upon the Doctrine, and Government of the Church of *England.*

land as was never done (that I have heard) by any that deserved the name of *Reformed Churches* abroad, nor by any men of learning and candour at home; all whose judgments I cannot but prefer before any mens now factiously engaged.

No man can be more forward then my selfe to carry on all due Reformation, with mature judgement, and a good Conscience, in what things I shall (after impartiall advice) be by Gods Word, and right reason convinced to be amiss, I have offered more then ever the fullest, freest, and wisest Parliaments did desire.

But the sequele of some mens actions makes it evident, that the main Reformation intended, is the abasing of Episcopacy into Presbyterie, and the robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues, For, no men have been more injuriously used, as to their regal Rights, then the Bishops, and Church men: These as the fattest Deere must be destroyed; the other Rascallherd of Schismes, Heresies, &c. being leane may enjoy the benefit of a Toleration: Thus *Naboth's* Vineyard made him the only Blasphemer of his Citie, and fit

to

fit to die. Still I see, while the breath of Religion fils the Sails, Profit is the Compasse, by which Factious men steere their course in all seditious Commotions.

I thank God, as no men lay more open to the sacrilegious temptation of usurping the Churches Lands, and Revenues, (which issuing chiefly from the Crown, are held of it, and legally can revert only to the Crown with My consent) so I have alwaies had such a perfect abhorrance of it in my Soul, that I never found the least inclination to such sacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater desire to have Bishops and all Church-men so reformed, that they may best deserve and use, not only what the pious munificence of my Predecessours hath given to God and the Church, but all other additions of Christian bountie.

But no necessitie shal ever, I hope, drive Me or Mine to invade or sell the Priests Lands, which both *Pharoh's* divinitie, and *Joseph's* true pietie abhorred to do: So unjust I think it both in the eye of Reason and Religion, to deprive the most sacred employment of all due encouragements;

and

and like that other hard-hearted *Pharaoh* to withdraw the Straw, and encreaſe the Task; ſo purſuing the oppreſſed Church, as ſome have done, to the red Sea of a Civill Warre, where nothing but a miracle can ſave It, or Him, who eſteemes it His greateſt Title to be called, and His chiefeſt glory to be *The Defender of the Church, both in its true Faith, and its juſt fruitions; equally abhorring, Sacriledge, and Apoſtacie.*

I had rather live as My Predeceſſour *Henery* 3. ſometime did, on the Churches Almes, then violently take the bread out of Biſhops and Miniſters mouthes.

The next work will be *Jeroboam's* reformation, conſecrating the meaneſt of the People to be Prieſts in *Iſrael*, to ſerve thoſe Golden Calves who have enriched themſelves with the Churches Patrimony and Dowry; which how it thrived both with Prince, Prieſt, and People, is well enough known: And ſo it will bee here, when from the tuition of Kings and Queens, which have been nurſing Fathers and Mothers of this Church, it ſhall be at their allowance, who have already diſco-

vered, what hard Fathers, Stepmothers they will be.

If the poverty of Scotland might, yet the plenty of England cannot excuse the envy and rapine of the Churches Rights, and Revenues.

I cannot so much as pray to God to prevent those sad consequences, which will inevitably follow the parity and poverty of Ministers, both in Church and State; since I think it no lesse then a mocking and tempting of God, to desire him to hinder those mischiefs whose occasions and remedies are in our own power; it being every mans sinne not to avoid the one, and not to use the other.

There are waies enough to repaire the breaches of the State without the ruines of the Church; as I would be a restorer of the one, so I would not be an Oppressour of the other, under the pretence of Publique Debts: The occasions contracting them were bad enough, but such a discharging of them would bee much worse; I pray God neither I, nor Mine, may be accessary to either.

To thee, O Lord, doe I addreſſe My prayer beſeeching thee to pardon the raſhneſſe of My Subjects Swearings, and to quicken their ſenſe and obſervation of thoſe juſt, morall, and indiſpenſable bonds, which thy Word, and the Laws of this Kingdome have laid upon their Conſciences; From which no pretenſions of Piety and Reformation are ſufficient to abſolve them, or to engage them to any contrarie practiſes.

Make them at length ſeriouſly to conſider, that nothing violent and injurious can be religious.

Thou alloweſt no mans committing Sacrilege under the Zeale of abhorring Idols.

Suffer not Sacrilegious deſigns to have the countenance of religious ties.

Thou haſt taught us by the wiſeſt of Kings, that it is a ſnare to take things that are holy, and after Vowes to make enquiry.

Ever keep thy Servant from conſenting to perjurious and ſacrilegious rapines, that I may not have the brand and curſe to all poſterity of robbing Thee and thy Church, of what thy bountie hath given us, and thy clemencie hath accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning and Religion.

Though My Treasures are Exhausted, My Revenues Diminished, and My Debts Encreased, yet never suffer Me to be tempted to use such prophane Reparations; lest a coale from thine Altar set such a fire on My Throne and Conſtience, as will hardly bee quenched.

Let not the Debts and Engagements of the Publique, which ſome mens folly and prodigality hath contracted, be an occaſion to impoveriſh thy Church.

The State may ſoone recover by thy bleſſing of Peace upon us: The Church is never likely, in times, where the Charity of moſt men is grown ſo cold, and their Religion ſo illiberall.

Continue to thoſe that ſerve thee and thy Church, all thoſe incouragements, which by the will of the pious Donours, and the juſtice of the Lawes are due unto them; and give them grace to deſerve and uſe them aright to thy Glory and the reliefe of the poor; That thy Preiſts may be clouthed with righteouſneſſe, and the poor may be ſatisfied with bread.

Let not holy things be given to Swine, nor the Churches bread to Dogs; rather let them

goe

goe about the Citie, grin like a Dogge, and grudge that they are not satisfied.

Let those sacred morsels which some men have already by violence devoured never digest with them nor theirs; let them be as Naboth's Vineyard to Ahab, gall in their mouthes, rotteneſſe to their names, a moth to their Families, and a ſting to their Conſciences.

Break in ſunder, O Lord, all violent, and ſacrilegious Confederations, to doe wickedly and injuriouſly.

Divide their hearts and tongues who have bandyed together againſt the Church and State, that the folly of ſuch may bee manifeſt to all men, and proceed no further.

But ſo favour My righteous dealing, O Lord, that in the mercies of thee, the moſt High, I may never miſcarry.

Upon

15. *Vpon the many Iealousies raised, and Scandals cast upon the* KING, *to stirre up the People against Him.*

IF I had not my own Innocency, and Gods protection, it were hard for Me to stand out against those stratagems and conflicts of malice, which by Falsities seeke to oppresse the Truth; and by jealousies to supply the defect of Reall causes, which might seem to justifie so unjust Engagements against me.

And indeed the worst effects of open hostility come short of these Designes: For, I can more willingly loose My Crowns, then my Credit; nor are My Kingdoms so deare to me, as my Reputation and Honour.

Those must have a period with my life; but these may survive to a glorious kind of immortality, when I am dead and gone: A good name being the embalming of Princes, and a sweet consecrating

of

of them to an Eternitie of love and gratitude among Posterity.

Those foul and false aspersions were secret engines at first employed against My peoples love of Me: that undermining their opinion and value of Me, My enemies, & theirs too, might at once blow up their affections, and batter down their loyalty.

Wherein yet, *I* thank God, the detriment of my Honour is not so afflictive to me, as the sin and danger of my peoples soules, whose eyes once blinded with such mists of suspitions, they are soon mis-led into the most dangerous precipices of actions: wherein they doe not onely not consider their sinne and danger, but glory in their zealous adventures, while I am rendered to them so fit to be destroyed, that many are ambitious to merit the name of my Destroyers; imagining they feare God most, when they least honor their King. I thank God I never found but my pity was above my anger; nor have my passions ever so prevailed against me, as to exclude my most compassionate prayers for them, who devout errours more

than their own malice have betrayed to a most religious Rebellion.

I had the Charity to interpret, that most part of My Subjects fought against My supposed Errours, not My Person; and intended to mend Me, not to end Mee: And I hope that God pardoning their Errours, hath so farre accepted and answered their good intentions, that as he hath yet preserved me, so he hath by their afflictions prepared Me, both to doe him better service, and My People more good then hitherto I have done.

I doe not more willingly forgive their seductions, which occasioned their loyal injuries, then I am ambitious by all Princely merits to redeeme them from their unjust suspitions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conscious to my owne Affections toward the generality of My People, to suspect theirs to Me; nor shall the malice of my Enemies ever be able to deprive Me of the comfort, which that confidence gives Mee; I shall never gratifie the spightfulnesse of a few with any sinister thoughts of their Allegiance,

giance, whom pious frauds have seduced.

The worst some mens ambition can do, shall never perswade Me, to make so bad interpretations of most of my Subjects actions; who possibly may be Erroneous, but not Heretical in point of Loyalty.

The sense of the injuries done to My Subjects is as sharp, as those done to My selfe; our welfares being inseparable; in this onely they suffer more then My selfe, that they are animated by some seducers to injure at once both themselves and Me.

For this is not enough to the malice of My Enemies, that I bee afflicted; but it must be done by such instruments, that My afflictions greeve Me not more, then this doth, that I am afflicted by those, whose prosperity I earnestly desire, and whose seduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been My open and forraign Enemies, I could have borne it; but they must be My own Subjects, who are next to my Children deare to Me: And for the restoring of whose tranquility, I could willingly be the *Forfeit*; If I did

not

not evidently foreſee, that by the divided Intereſts of their and mine enemies, as by contrary windes the ſtorme of their miſeries, would be rather encreaſed then allayed.

I had rather prevent my peoples ruine then Rule over them; nor am I ſo ambitious of that Dominion which is but my Right, as of their happineſſe, if it could expiate or countervaile ſuch a way of obtaining it, by the higheſt injuries of Subjects committed againſt their Soveraign.

Yet I had rather ſuffer all the miſeries of life, and die many deaths, then ſhamefully to deſert, or diſhonourably to betray my owne juſt Rights and Soveraignty; thereby to gratifie the ambition, or juſtifie the malice of my Enemies; betweeene whoſe malice, and other mens miſtakes, I doe put as great a difference, as betweene an ordinary Ague, and the Plague; or the Itch of Novelty, and the Leproſie of Diſloyaltie.

As Liars need have good memories, ſo Malicious perſons need good inventions; that their calumnies may fit every

mans

mans fancy; and what their reproaches want of truth, they may make up with number and ſhew.

My patience (I thank God) will better ſerve me to beare, and my charitie to forgive, then my leiſure to anſwer the many falſe aſperſions which ſome men have caſt upon me.

Did not I more conſider my Subjects Satisfaction, then my own vindication; I ſhould never have given the malice of ſome men that pleaſure, to ſee me take notice of, or remember what they ſay, or object.

I would leave the Authors to be puniſhed by their own evill manners, and ſeared Conſciences, which will, I beleeve, in a ſhorter time, then they be aware of, both confute, and revenge all thoſe black and falſe ſcandals, which they have caſt on me: And make the world ſee, there is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broaching of them, or Civility, (I need not ſay Loyaltie) in the not-ſuppreſſing of them; whoſe credit and reputation, even with the people, ſhall ere long quite be blaſted by the breath of

of that ſame fornace of popular obloquy and detraction, which they have ſtudied to heat and inflame to the higheſt degree of infamy, and wherein they have ſought to caſt and conſume My Name and Honour.

Firſt, nothing gave Me more cauſe to ſuſpect, and ſearch My owne Innocency; then when I obſerved ſo many forward to engage againſt Me, who had made great profeſſions of ſingular piety; For this gave to vulgar mindes ſo bad a reflection upon Mee, and My Cauſe, as if it had been impoſſible to adhere to Me, and not withall part from God; to thinke or ſpeake well of Me, and not to Blaſpheme him; ſo many were perſwaded that theſe two were utterly inconſiſtent, to be at once Loyall to Me, and truly Religious toward God.

Not but that I had (I thanke God) many with Mee, which were both Learned and Religious, (much above that ordinary ſize, and that vulgar proportion, wherein ſome men glory ſo much) who were ſo well ſatisfied in the cauſe of My ſufferings, that they choſe rather

ther to ſuffer with Me, then forſake Me.

Nor is it ſtrange that ſo Religious pretenſions as were uſed againſt Me, ſhould be to many well-minded a great temptation to oppoſe *Me*, eſpecially being urged by ſuch popular Preachers, as think it no ſin to lie for God, and what they pleaſe to call Gods Cauſe, curſing all that will not curſe with them; looking ſo much at, and crying up the goodneſſe of the end propounded, that they conſider not the lawfulneſſe of the meanes uſed, nor the depth of the miſcheif, chiefly plotted and intended.

The weakneſſe of theſe mens judgments muſt be made up by their clamours and activitie.

It was a great part of ſome mens Religion, to ſcandalize Mee and Mine, they thought theirs could not be true, if they cried not Mine down as falſe.

I thanke God, I have had more triall of his Grace, as to the conſtancie of My Religion in the Proteſtant profeſſion of the Church of England, both abroad, and at home, then ever they are like to have.

Nor

Nor do I know any exception, I am ſo liable to, in their opinion, as too great a fixedneſſe in that Religion, whoſe judicious and ſolid grounds, both from Scripture and Antiquity, will not give my Conſcience leave to approve or conſent to thoſe many dangerous and divided Innovations, which the ignorance of ſome men would needs obtrude upon me, and my people.

Contrary to thoſe well tried foundations both of Truth and Order, which men of far greater Learning, and clearer Zeale, have ſetled in the Confeſſion, and Conſtitution of this Church in England, which many former Parliaments in the moſt calme, and unpaſſionate times, have oft confirmed; in which I ſhall ever, by Gods helpe, perſevere, as beleeving it hath moſt of Primitive Truth and Order.

Nor did my uſing the aſſiſtance of ſome Papiſts, which were my Subjects, any way fight againſt my Religion, as ſome men as would needs interpret it: eſpecially thoſe who leaſt of all men cared whom they emploied, or what they

they ſaid, and did, ſo that they might prevaile.

'Tis ſtrange that ſo wiſe men as they would be eſteemed, ſhould not conceive, That differences of perſwaſion in matters of Religion may eaſily fall out, where there is the ſameneſſe of dutie, allegiance, and ſubjection. The firſt they owne as men, and Chriſtians to God; the ſecond, they owe to Me in Common, as their KING; different profeſſions in point of Religion cannot (any more then in civill Trades) take away the communitie of relations either to Parents, or to Princes: And where there is ſuch an *Oglio* or medley of various Religions in the world again, as thoſe men entertain in their ſervice (who find moſt fault with Me) without any ſcruple, as to the diverſitie of their Sects and Opinions?

It was, indeed, a foule and indelible ſhame, for ſuch as would be counted Proteſtants, to enforce me a declared Proteſtant, their Lord and King, to a neceſſary uſe of Papiſts, or any other, who did but their dnty to help Me to defend my ſelfe.

Nor did I more then is lawfull for any

King

King in such exigents to use the aide of any his Subjects.

I am sorry the Papists should have a greater sense of their Allegiance, then many Protestant Professours, who seeme to have learned, and to practise the worst Principles of the worst Papists.

Indeed, it had been a very impertinent and unreasonable scruple in Me, (and very pleasing no doubt to my Enemies) to have been then disputing the points of different beliefs in my Subjects when I was disputed with by Swords points: and when I needed the help of my Subjects as men, no lesse then their praiers as Christians.

The noise of my Evill Counsellours was another usefull device for those, who were impatient any mens counsels but their own should be followed in Church or State; who are so eager in giving me better counsell that they would not give me leave to take it with freedome as a Man, or honour as a King; making their counsels more like a drench that must bee powred downe, then a draught which might be fairly, and leisurely drank, if I liked it.

I will not juſtifie beyond humane errours and frailties My ſelfe, or my Counſellours: They might be ſubject to ſome miſcarriages, yet ſuch as were farre more reparable by ſecond, and better thoughts, than thoſe enormious extravagances, wherewith ſome men have now weldred, and almoſt quite loſt both Church and State.

The event of things at laſt will make it evident to my Subjects, that had I followed the worſt Counſels, that My worſt Counſellours ever had the boldneſſe to offer Me, or my ſelf any inclination to uſe; could not ſo ſoon have brought both Church and State in three flouriſhing Kingdomes, to ſuch a Chaos of confuſion and Hell of miſeries, as ſome have done; out of which they cannot or will not in the midſt of their many great advantages, redeeme either Mee, or My Subjects,

No men were more willing to complaine, then I was to redreſſe what I ſaw in Reaſon was either done or adviſed amiſſe, and this I thought I had done, even beyond the expectation of moderate men.

who were sorry to see Me prone even to injure My self out of a Zeal to relieve My Subjects.

But other mens insatiable desire of revenge upon Me, My Court, and My Clergy, hath wholly beguiled both Church and State of the benefit of all My, either Retractions, or Concessions; and withall, hath deprived all those (now zealous Persecutors) both of the comfort and reward of their former pretended persecutions, wherin they so much gloried among the vulgar, which, indeed, a truly humble Christian will so highly prize, as rather not be relieved, then be revenged, so as to be bereaved of that Crown of Christian Patience, which attends humble and injured sufferers.

Another artifice used to withdraw My peoples affections from Me to their designs, was, the noise and ostentation of liberty, which men are not more prone to desire, then unapt to bear in the popular sense, which is to do what every man likes best. If the divinest liberty be to wil what men should, & to do what they so wil, according to Reason, Laws, and Religion; I

envy

envy not my ſubjects that liberty, which is all I deſire to enjoy my ſelf: So far am I from the depreſſing of theirs: Nor were thoſe Lords & Gentlemen that aſſiſted me ſo prodigal of their liberties, as with their lives and fortunes to help on the enſlaving of themſelves and their poſterities.

As to Civill Immunities, none but ſuch as deſire to drive on their Ambitious and Covetous deſignes over the ruines of Church and State, Prince, Peers, and People, will ever deſire greater Freedomes then the Lawes allow, whoſe boundes good men count their Ornament and Protection; others their Manacles and Oppreſſion.

Nor is it juſt any man ſhould expect the reward and benefit of the Law, who deſpiſeth its rule and direction; loſing juſtly his ſafety while he ſeekes an unreaſonable liberty.

Time will beſt inform my Subjects, that thoſe are the beſt preſervers of their liberties, who allow themſelves the leaſt licentiouſnes againſt, or beyond the Laws: They will feele it at laſt to their coſt, that it is impoſſible thoſe men ſhould bee

really tender of their fellow-ſubjects liberties, who have the hardneſſe to uſe their King with ſo ſevere reſtraints; againſt all Laws both Divine and Humane, under which, yet, I will rather periſh, then complaine to thoſe who want nothing to compleat their mirth, and triumph, but ſuch muſick.

In point of true conſcientious tenderneſſe (attended with humility and meekneſſe, not with proud and arrogant activity, which ſeeks to hatch every egge of different opinion to a Faction or Schiſme) I have oft declared how little *I* deſire my Lawes and Scepter ſhould intrench on Gods Soveraignty; which is the onely King of mens Conſciences: and yet he hath layd ſuch reſtraints upon men, as commands them to bee ſubject for Conſcience ſake, giving no men liberty to breake the Law eſtabliſhed, further then with meeknesſe and patience, they are content to ſuffer the penalties annexed, rather then pertnrb the publick Peace.

The truth is, ſome mens thirſt after Novelties, others deſpaire to relieve the neceſſities of their Fortunes, or ſatisfie

their

their Ambition, in peaceable times, (diſtruſting Gods providence, as well as their own merits) were the ſecret (but principall) impulſives to thoſe popular Commotions, by which Subjects have been perſwaded to expend much of thoſe plentifull Eſtates they got, and enjoyed under my Government in peaceable times: which yet muſt now bee blaſted with all the odious reproaches which impotent malice can invent, and my ſelf expoſed to all thoſe contempts, which may moſt diminiſh the Majeſty of a King, and encreaſe the ungratefull inſolencies of my people.

For mine Honour, I am well aſſured that as mine Innocency is cleare before God, in point of any calumnies they object; ſo ſhall my Reputation like the Sun (after Owles and Bats have had their freedome in the night and darker times) riſe and recover it ſelfe to ſuch a degree of ſplendour, as thoſe ferall birds ſhall bee grieved to behold, and unable to beare. For never were any Princes more glorious then thoſe whom God hath ſuffer'd to be tried in the fornace of afflictions, by

their injurious Subjects.

And who knows but the juſt and mercifull God will doe me good, for ſome mens hard, falſe, and evill ſpeeches againſt me; wherein they ſpeak rather what they wiſh, then what they beleeve, or know.

Nor can I ſuffer ſo much in poynt of Honour, by thoſe rude and ſcandalous Pamphlets, which like fire in great conflagrations, fly up and down to ſet all places on like flames) then thoſe men doe, who pretending ſo much to piety are forgetfull of their duty to God and Me: By no way ever vindicating the Majeſty of their KING, againſt any of thoſe, who contrary to the precept of God, and precedent of Angels, *ſpeake evill of dignities, and bring railing accuſations againſt thoſe*, who are hououred with the name of Gods.

But 'tis no wonder if men not fearing God, ſhould not honour their King.

They will eaſily contemn ſuch ſhadows of God, who reverence not that ſupreme and adorable Majeſty, in compariſon of whom all the glory of Men and Angels is but obſcurity, yet he hath graven ſuch cha-

characters of divine authority, and ſacred power upon Kings, as none may without ſinne ſeeke to blot them out. Nor ſhall their black veiles be able to hide the ſhining of My face, while God gives Mee a heart frequen ly and humbly to converſe with him, from whom alone are all the traditions of true glory, and maieſty.

Thou, O Lord, knoweſt my reproach, and my diſhonour, my Adverſaries are all before thee.

My ſoule is amoug Lions, among them that are ſet on fire, even the ſons of Men; whoſe teeth are ſpeares and arrows; their tongue a ſharp ſword.

Mine enemies reproach me all the day long and thoſe that are mad againſt me are ſworne together.

O my God, how long ſhall the ſonnes of men turn my glory into ſhame? how long ſhal they love vanity, and ſeek after lies.

Thou haſt heard the reproaches of wicked men on every ſide. Hold not thy peace, leſt my Enemies prevaile againſt Mee, and lay mine Honour in the duſt.

Thou, O Lord, shalt destroy them that speake lies; the Lord will abhorre both the blood thirsty, and deceitfull men.

Make my righteousnesse to appeare as the light, and mine innocency to shine forth as the Sunne at noon day.

Suffer not my silence to betray mine innocence, nor my displeasure, my patience; That after my Saviours example, being reviled, I may not revile againe; and being cursed by them, I may blesse them.

Thou that wouldest not suffer Shimei's *tongue to go unpunished; when by thy judgements on* David *he might seeme to justifie his disdainfull reproaches, give me grace to intercede with thy mercy for these my enemies, that the reward of false and lying tongues, even hot burning coales of eternall fire, may not be brought upon them.*

Let my praiers, and patience, be as water to coole and quench their tongues, who are already set on fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented with those malicious flames.

Let mee bee happy to refute, and put to silence their evill speaking by well-doing; and let them enjoy not the fruit of their lips, but of my prayer for their repentance, and thy pardon.

Teach

Teach me David's *patience, and* Hezekiah's *devotion, that I may look to thy mercy through mans malice, and see thy Iustice in their sin.*

Let Sheba's *seditious speeches,* Rabshekah's *railing, and* Shimei's *cursing, provoke, as my humble prayer to thee so thy renewed blessing toward me.*

Though they curse, doe thou bleße, and I shall be blessed, and made a blessing to my people.

That the stone, which some builders refuse, may become the head stone of the corner.

Looke downe from heaven, and save me, from the reproach of them that would swallow me up.

Hide me in the secreet of thy presence, from the pride of man, and keep me from the strife of tongues.

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16. *Vpon the Ordinance against the Booke of Common-Prayer.*

IT is no news to have all Innovations ushered in with the name of Reformations in the Church and State, by those who seeking to gain reputatiõ with

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the Vulgar, for their extraordinary parts, and piety, muſt needs undoe, whatever was formerly ſetled, never ſo well and wiſely.

So hardly can the pride of thoſe that ſtudy Novelryes, allow former times any ſhare or degree of wiſdom or godlineſſe.

And becauſe matters of prayer and devotion to God juſtly bears a great part in Religion, (being the ſoules more immediate converſe with the divine Majeſty) nothing could bee more plauſible to the people, then to tell them, they ſerved God amiſſe in that point.

Hence our Publique Liturgy, or Formes of conſtant Prayers, muſt (be not amended in what upon free and publick advice might ſeeme to ſober men inconvenient for matter or manner, to which I ſhould eaſily conſent, but) wholly caſhired and aboliſhed, and after many popular contempts offered to the Booke, and thoſe that uſed it according to their Conſciences, and the Laws in force, it muſt be crucified by an Ordinance, the better to pleaſe thoſe men, who gloried in their extemporary veyne and fluency:

or

of others, who conſcious to their owne formality in the uſe of it, thought they fully expiated their ſinne of not uſing it aright, by laying al the blame upon it, and a totall rejection of it as a dead Letter, thereby to excuſe the deadneſſe of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in that Booke, ſober and learned men have ſufficiently vindicated it againſt the cavils and exceptions of thoſe, who thought it a part of piety to make what prophane objections they could againſt it; eſpecially for Popery and Superſtition; whereas no doubt the Liturgy was exactly conformed to the doctrine of the Church of *England*; and by this all reformed Churches is confeſſed to be the moſt ſound and Orthodox.

For the manner of uſing ſet and preſcribed Formes, there is no doubt but that wholſome words being known and fitted to mens underſtandings, are ſooneſt received into their hearts, and apteſt to excite and carry along with them jndicious and fervent affections.

Nor doe I ſee any reaſon why Chriſtians

ſt ans ſhould be weary of a well-compoſed Lethurgy (as I hold this to be) more then of all other things, wherein the Conſtancy abates nothing of the excellency and uſefulneſſe.

I could never ſee any reaſon, why any Chriſtians ſhould abhor, or be forbidden to uſe the ſame Forms of Prayer, ſince he prayes to the ſame God, beleeves in the ſame Saviour, profeſſeth the ſame Truths, reads the ſame Scriptures, hath the ſame duties upon him, and feeles the ſame daily wants for the moſt part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure we may well before-hand know what we pray, as to whom we pray; and in what words, as to what ſenſe; when we deſire the ſame things, what hinders wee may not uſe the ſame words? Our appetite and diſgeſtion too may be good when we uſe, as we pray for, our daily bread.

Some men, I heare, are ſo impatient not to uſe in all their devotions their own invention, and gifts, that they do not only diſuſe (as too many) but wholly caſt away

way and contemn the Lords praier; whoſe great guilt is, that it is the warrant and original pattern of al ſet Liturgies in the Chriſtian Church.

I ever thought that the proud oſtentation of mens abilities for invention, and the vaine affectations of variety for expreſſions in publick prayer, or any ſacred adminiſtrations, merits a greater brand of ſinne, then that which they call Coldneſſe, and Barrenneſſe: Nor are men in thoſe Novelties leſſe ſubject to formall and ſuperficiall tempers(as to their hearts) then in the uſe of conſtant formes, where not the words, but mens hearts are too blame.

I make no doubt but a man may bee very formall in the moſt extemporary variety, and very fervently devout in the moſt wonted expreſſions: Nor is God more a God of variety, then of conſtancy: Nor are conſtant Formes of Prayers more likely to ſlat, and hinder the Spirit of prayer, and devotion, then un-premeditated and confuſed uariety to diſtract, and loſe it.

Though I am not againſt a grave, modeſt,

deſt, diſcreet, and humble uſe of Miniſters gifts, even in publick, the better to fit, and excite their owne, and the peoples affections to the preſent occaſions; yet I know no neceſſity why private and ſingle abilities ſhould quite juſtle out, and deprive the Chuch of the ioint abilities and concurrent gifts of many learned and godly men; ſuch as the Compoſers of the Service-Booke were: who may in all reaſon be thought to have more of gifts and graces, enabling them to compoſe with ſerious deliberation and concurrent adviſe, ſuch Forms of prayers as may beſt fit the Churches common wants, informe the Hearers underſtanding, and ſtirre up tha tfiduciary and fervent application of their ſpirits (wherein conſiſts the very life and ſoule of Prayer, and that ſo much pretended Spirit of prayer) then any private man by his ſolitary abilities can be preſumed to have; which, what they are many times (even there, where they make a great noiſe, and ſhew) the affectations, emptineſſe, impertinency, rudeneſſe, confuſions, flatneſſe, levity, obſcurity, vaine, and ridiculous repetitions,

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the senselesse, and oft-times blasphemous expressions; all these burthened with a most tedious and intolerable length, do sufficiently convince all men, but those who doe glory in that Pharisaick way.

Wherein men must be strangely impudent and flatterers of themselves, not to have an infinite shame of what they so do and say, in things of so sacred a nature, before God, and the Church, after so ridiculous, (and indeed) prophane a manner.

Nor can it be expected, but that in duties of frequent performance, as Sacramentall administrations, and the like, which are still the same; Ministers must either come to use their own Formes constantly, which are not like to bee so sound; or comprehensive of the nature of the duty, as forms of publick composure; or elsethey must every time affect new expressions when the subiect is the same w^ch can hardly be presumed in any mans greatest sufficiencies not to want (many times) much of that compleatnes, order, and gravity, becomming those dutyes; which by this

this meanes are exposed at every celebration to every Ministers private infirmities, indispositions, errours, disorders and defects, both for Iudgement and Expression.

A serious sense of which inconvenience in the Church unavoydably following every mans severall manner of officiating, no doubt first occasioned the wisdome and piety of the Ancient Churches to remedy those mischiefs by the use of constant Liturgies of Publick composure.

The want of which I beleeve this Church will sufficiently feele, when the unhappy fruits of mens un-governed ignorance, and confident defects, shall bee discovered in more errours, schismes, disorders, and uncharitable distractions in Religion, which are already but too many, the more is the pity.

However if violence must needs bring in, and abett those innovations, (that men may not seeme to have nothing to doe) which Law, Reason, and Religion forbids, at least to be so obtruded as wholly to justle out the publick Liturgy.

Yet

Yet nothing can excuſe that moſt unjuſt and partiall ſeverity of thoſe men, either lately had ſubſcribed to, uſed, and maintained the Service-Book; or refuſed to uſe it, cried out of the rigour of Lawes and Biſhops, which ſuffered them not to uſe the liberty of their Conſciences, in not uſing it.

That theſe men (I ſay) ſhould ſo ſuddenly change the Liturgie into a Directory, as if the ſpirit needed help for invention, though not for expreſſions; or as if matter preſcribed did not as much ſtint and obſtruct the Spirit, as if it was cloathed in, and confined to fit words: (So ſlight & eaſie is that Legerdemain which will ſerve to delude the vulgar.)

That further, they ſhould uſe ſuch ſeverity, as not to ſuffer without penalty, any to uſe the Common-prayer-booke publiquely, although their Conſciences bind them to it, as a duty of Piety to God, and Obedience to the Laws.

Thus I ſee, no men are prone to be greater Tyrants, and more rigorous exacters upon others to conforme to their illegall novelties, then ſuch, whoſe pride was formerly

merly leaſt diſpoſed to the obedience of lawfull Conſtitutions; and whoſe licentious humours moſt pretended Conſcientious liberties, which freedome, with much regret they now allow to Me, and My Chaplains when they may have leave to ſerve Me, whoſe abilities, even their extemporary way comes not ſhort of the others, but their modeſty and learning far exceeds the moſt of them.

But this matter is of ſo popular a nature, as ſome men knew it would not bear learned and ſober debates, leſt being convinced by the evidence of Reaſon, as well as Lawes, they ſhould have been driven either to ſin more againſt their knowledge, by taking away the Liturgy; or to diſpleaſe ſome faction of the people by continuing the uſe of it.

Though I beleeve they have offended more conſiderable men, not onely for their numbers and eſtates, but for their weighty and judicious piety, than thoſe are, whoſe weakneſſe or giddineſſe they ſought to gratifie by taking it away.

One of the greateſt faults ſome men found with the Common-Prayer-Book,

I beleeve, was this, That it taught them to pray ſo oft for Mee; to which Petitions they had not Loyaltie to ſay Amen, nor yet charity enough to forbeare Reproaches, and even Curſings of Mee in their own forms, inſtead of praying for Me.

I wiſh their Repentance may bee their onely puniſhment; that ſeeing the miſchiefs which the diſuſe of publique Liturgies hath already produced, they may reſtore that credit, uſe, and reverence to them, which by the ancient Churches were given to Set Formes of ſound and wholſome words

And thou, O Lord, which art the ſame God, bleſſed for ever: whoſe mercies are ful of varietie, and yet of conſtancy; Thou denieſt us not a new and freſh ſenſe of our old and daily wants; nor deſpieſt renewed affections joyned to conſtant expreſſions.

Let us not want the benefit of thy Churches united and wel deviſed Devotions.

Let the matters of our praiers be agreeable to thy will, which is alwaies the ſame, and the fervency of our ſpirits to the motions of thy holy Spirit in us.

And then we doubt not but thy ſpirituall perfections are ſuch as thou art neither to bee pleaſed with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the pious conſtancie of our Petitions in them both.

Whoſe varietie or conſtancie thou haſt no where either forbidden or commanded, but left them to the pietie and prudence of thy Church that both may be uſed, neither deſpiſed.

Keep men in that pious moderation of their judgements in matters of Religion; that their ignorance may not offend others, nor their opinion of their own abilities tempt them to deprive others, of what they may lawfully and devoutly uſe to help their infirmities.

And ſince the advantage of Errour conſiſts in noveltie and varietie, as Truths in unitie and conſtancie: Suffer not thy Chuch to bee peſtred with errours, and deformed undecencies in thy ſervice, under the pretence of variety and novelty. Nor to be deprived of truth, unity, and order, under this fallacy, That conſtancy is the cauſe of formalitie.

Lord keepe us from formall Hypocriſie in our hearts, and then we know that praying to thee, or praiſing of thee (with David, and o-

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ther holie men) in the ſame forms cannot hurt us.

Give us wiſdome amend what is amiſſe within us, and there will bee leſſe to mend without us.

Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from the effects of blind Zeale, and over-bold devotion.

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17. *Of the differences between the* KING *and the two Houſes, in point of Church-Government.*

TOuching the GOVERNMENT of the Church by Biſhops, the common jealouſie hath been, that I am earneſt and reſolute to maintaine it, not ſo much out of piety, as policy, and reaſon of State.

Wherein ſo far indeed reaſon of State doth

doth induce me to approve that Government above any other, as I finde it impoſſible for a Prince to preſerve the State in quiet; unleſſe he hath ſuch an influence upon Church-men, and they ſuch a dependance of Him, as may beſt reſtrain the ſeditious exorbitancies of Miniſters tongues; who with the Keyes of Heaven have ſo far the Keyes of the peoples hearts as they prevaile much by their Oratory to let in, or ſhut out both Peace and Loyalty.

So that I being (as KING) intruſted by God, and the Lawes, with the good both of Church and State; I ſee no Reaſon I ſhould give up, or weaken by any change, that power and influence, which in right and reaſon I ought to have over both.

The moving Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers (of which I have elſewhere given an account) was ſufficient to take off any ſuſpition that *I* encline to them for any uſe to be made of their Votes in State affaires: Though indeed I never thought any Biſhop worthy to ſit in that Houſe, who would not Vote according to

their

their Conſcience.

I muſt now in Charity be thought deſirous to preſerve that Government in its right conſtitution, as a matter of Religion; wherein both my judgement is fully ſatisfied, that it hath of all other the fulleſt Scripture grounds, and alſo the conſtant practiſe of all Chriſtian Churches; till of late years, the tumultuarineſſe of people, or the factiouſneſſe and pride of Presbyters, or the covetouſneſſe of ſome States and Princes, gave occaſion to ſome mens wits to invent new models, and propoſe them under ſpecious titles of Chriſts Government, Scepter, and Kingdome; the better to ſerve their turns, to whom the change was beneficiall.

They muſt give mee leave, having none of their temptations to invite Mee to alter the Government of Biſhops, (that I may have a title to their Eſtates) not for to beleeve their pretended grounds to any new waies: contrary to the full and conſtant teſtimony of all Hiſtories ſufficiently convincing all unbiaſed men; that as the Primitive

Churches were undoubtedly governed by the Apoſtles, and their immediate Succeſſours the firſt, and beſt Biſhops: ſo it cannot in Reaſon or Charity be ſuppoſed that all the Churches in the world ſhould either bee ignorant of the rule by them preſcribed, or ſo ſoon deviate from their devine, and holy patterne; That ſince the firſt age, for 1500 years, not one example can be produced of any ſetled Church, wherein were many Miniſters and congregations, which had not ſome Biſhop above them, under whoſe juriſdiction and government they were.

Whoſe conſtant and univerſall practiſe agreeing with ſo large, and evident Scripture-directions, and examples, are ſet downe in the Epiſtles to Timothy and Titus for the ſetling of that Government, not in the perſons only of Tymothy and Titus, but in the ſucceſſion; (the want of Government being that, which the Church can no more diſpenſe with, in point of wel being, then the want of the VVord and Sacraments in point of being.)

I wonder how men came to look with

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ſo envious an eye upon Biſhops power and authority, as to overſee both the Eccleſiaſticall uſe of them, and Apoſtolicall conſtitution: which to me ſeems no leſſe evidently ſet forth, as to the main ſcope and deſign of thoſe Epiſtles, for the ſetling of a peculiar Office, Power, and Authority in them as Preſident-Biſhops above others, in point of Ordination, Cenſures, and other acts of Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline; then thoſe ſhorter Characters of the qualities and duties of Presbyter-Biſhops, and Deacons are deſcribed in ſome parts of the ſame Epiſtles; who in the latitude and community of the name were then, and may not improperly bee called Biſhops, as to the overſight and care of ſingle Congregations, committed to them by the Apoſtles, or thoſe Apoſtolicall Biſhops, who (as Timothy and Titus) ſucceeded them in that ordinary power, there aſſigned over larger diviſions, in which were many Presbyters.

The humility of thoſe firſt Biſhops avoyding the eminent title of Apoſtles, as a name in the Churches ſtile appropriated from its common notion, (of a Meſſenger,

or

or one ſent) to that ſpecial dignity which had extraordinary call, miſſion, gifts, and power, immediately from Chriſt: they contented themſelves with the ordinary titles of Biſhops and Presbyters, untill uſe, (the great arbitrator of words, and maſter of language) finding reaſon to diſtinguiſh by a peculiar name thoſe perſons, whoſe power and office was indeed diſtinct, and above all others in the Church, as ſucceeding the Apoſtles in the ordinary and conſtant power of governing the Churches, the honour of (whoſe name they moderately, yet commendably declined) all Chriſtian Churches (ſubmitting to the ſpeciall authority) appropriated alſo the name of Biſhop, without any ſuſpition or reproach of arrogancy, to thoſe, who were by Apoſtolicall propagation rightly deſcended and inveſted into that higheſt and largeſt power of governing even the moſt pure and Primitive Churches: which, without all doubt had many ſuch holy Biſhops, after the pattern of Timothy and Titus; whoſe ſpeciall power is not more clearly ſet downe in thoſe Epiſtles, (the chiefe grounds

grounds and limits of all Epiſcopal claime as from divine right) then are the characters of theſe perrilous times, and thoſe men that make them ſuch; who not enduring ſound doctrin, and cleare teſtimonies of all Chuches practiſe, are moſt perverſe Diſputers, and proud Vſurpers, againſt true Epiſcopacy; who, if they be not Traytors and Boaſters, yet they ſeeme to be very covetous, heady, high-minded; inordinate, and fierce, lovers of themſelves, having much of the forme, little of the power of Godlineſſe.

Who, by popular heaps of weak, light, and unlearned Teachers, ſeeke to overlay, and ſmother the pregnancy and authority of that power of Epiſcopall Government, which, beyond all equivocation and vulgar fallacy of names is moſt convincingly ſet forth, both by Scripture, and all after Hiſtoryes of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine, then a Prince, that Poſterity may ſee (if ever theſe Papers be publique) that I had

had fair grounds both from Scripture-Canons and Eccleſiaſtical examples, whereon my judgement was ſtated for Epiſcopall Government.

Nor was it any policy of State, or obſtinacy of will, nor partiality of affection, either to the men, or their function which fixed me, who cannot in point of worldly reſpects be ſo conſiderable to me as to recompence, the injuries and loſſes I, and My deareſt relations with my Kingdoms have ſuſtained and hazarded, chiefly at firſt upon this quarrell.

And not onely in Religion, of which, Scripture is the beſt rule, and the Churches Univerſall practiſe, the beſt commentary, but alſo in right reaſon, and the true nature of Government, it cannot be thought that an orderly Subordination among Presbyters or Miniſters, ſhould be any more againſt Chriſtianity, then it is in all ſecular and civill-Governments, where parity breedes Confuſion and Faction.

I can no more beleeve that ſuch order is inconſiſtent with true Religion, then good features are with beauty, or numbers with harmony. Nor

Nor is it likely that God, who appointed ſeverall orders, and a Prelacy in the Government of his Church, among the Jewiſh Prieſts, ſhould abhorre or forbid them among Chriſtian Miniſters; who have as much of the principles of ſchiſm and diviſion as other men; for preventing and ſuppreſſing of which, the Apoſtolicall wiſdom (which was divine) after that Chriſtians were multiplyed to many Congregations, and Presbyters with them, appointed this way of Government, which might beſt preſerve order and union with Authority.

So that I conceive it was not the favour of Princes, or ambition of Presbyters, but the wiſdom and piety of the Apoſtles, that firſt ſetled Biſhops in the Church; which authority they conſtantly uſed and enjoyed in thoſe times, where pureſt for Religion, but ſharpeſt for Perſecution.

Not that I am againſt the managing of this Preſidency and Authority in one man, by the joynt Counſell and conſent of many Presbyters: I have offered to reſtore that, as a fit meanes to avoyd thoſe

Errours,

Errours, Corruptions, and Partialities, which are incident to any one man; Alſo to avoid Tyranny, which becomes no Chriſtians leaſt of all Church-men; beſides, it will be a means to take away that burden, and odium of affairs, which may lie too heavy on one mans ſhoulders, as indeed I think it formerly did on the Biſhops here.

Nor can I ſee what can be more agreeable both to Reaſon and Religion, then ſuch a fram of Government, which is paternall, not Magiſteriall; and wherein not only the neceſſity of avoyding Faction and Confuſion, Emulations and Contempts, which are prone to riſe among equals in power and function; but alſo the differences of ſome Miniſters gifts, & aptitudes for Government above others, doth invite to imploy them, in reference to thoſe abilities wherein they are Eminent.

Nor is this judgement of Mine touching Epiſcopacy, any pre-occupation of opinion, which will uot admit any oppoſitions againſt it: it is well known I have endeavoured to ſatisfie My ſelfe in what

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the chief Patrons for other waies can ſay againſt this, or for theirs: And I find they have, as far leſſe of Scripture grounds, and of Reaſon, ſo for examples, and practiſe of the Church, or teſtimonies of Hiſtories, they are whollie deſtitute, wherein the whole ſtream runs ſo for Epiſcopacy, that there is not the leaſt rivulet for any others.

As for thoſe obtruded examples of ſome late reformed Churches, (for many retain Biſhops ſtill) whom neceſſity of times and affaires rather excuſeth, then commendeth for their inconformity to al Antiquity; I could never ſee any reaſon why Churches orderly reformed, and governed by Biſhops ſhould be forced to conform to thoſe few, rather then to the Catholick example of all Ancient Churches, which needed no Reformation: And to thoſe Churches at this day, who governed by Biſhops in all the Chriſtian world are more then Presbyterians or Independents can pretend to be; All whom the Churches in my three Kingdoms lately governed by Biſhops, would equalzi (I think) if not exceed.

Nor is it any poynt of wisdome or charity, where Christians differ, (as many do in some poynts) there to widen the differences, and at once to give all the Christian world (except a handfull of some Protestants) so great a scandall in point of Church-government; whom, though you may convince of their Errours in some poynts of Doctrin, yet you shall never perswade them, that to compleat their Reformation, they must necessarily desert, and wholly cast off that Government, which they, and all before them have ever owned as Catholick, Primitive and Apostolicall: So far that never Schismaticks, nor Hereticks (except those Aerians) have strayed from the Vnity, and conformity of the Church in that poynt; ever having Bishops above Presbyters:

Besides, the late generall approbation and submission to this Government of Bishops, by the Clergy, as well as the Laity of these Kingdoms is a great confirmation of my Iudgement; and their inconstancy, is a great prejudice against their novelty; I cannot in charity so far

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doubt of their learning or integrity, as if they understood not what heretofore they did; or that they did conforme contrary to their Consciences: So that their fallacity and levity is never to bee excused, who, before ever the point of Church-government had any free and impartiall debate, contrary to their former Oathes and practise, against their obedience to the Laws in force, and against my consent, have not onely quite cried done the Government by Bishops; but have approved and incouraged the violent most illegall stripping all the Bishops, and many other Church-men, of all their due Authority and Revenues, even to the selling away, and utter alienation of those Church-lands from any Ecclesiasticall uses: So great a power hath the streame of times, and the prevalency of parties over some mens judgements, of whose so sudden and so totall change, little reason can be given, besides the Scots Army comming into England.

But the folly of these men will at last punish it selfe, and the Desertors of Episcopacy will appear the greatest Enemies to,

and betrayers of their owne intereſt; for Presbytery is never ſo conſiderable or effectuall, as when it is joyned to, and crowned with Epiſcopacy. All Miniſters will finde as great a difference in point of thriving, between the favour of the people, and of Princes, as plants do between being watered by hand, or by the ſweet and liberall dews of Heaven.

The tenuity and contempt of Clergymen will ſoon let them ſee, what a poore carcaſſe they are, when parted from the influence of that Head, to whoſe Supremacy they have been ſworn.

A little moderation might have prevented great miſchiefs; I am firme to Primitive Epiſcopacy, not to have it extirpated, (if I can hinder it.) Diſcretion without paſſion might eaſily reform, whatever the ruſt of times, or indulgence of Lawes, or corruption of manners have brought upon it. It being a groſſe vulgar errour to impute to, or revenge upon the Function, the faults of times or perſons, which ſeditious and popular principle, and practiſe, al wiſe men abhor.

For thoſe ſecular additaments, and ornaments

naments of Authority, Civill Honour and Eſtate, which My Predeceſſours, and Chriſtian Princes in all Countries have annexed to Biſhops and Church-men; I looke upon them, but as juſt rewards of their learning and pietie, who are fit to be in any degree of Church-Government; alſo enablements to workes of Charity, and Hoſpitality, meet ſtrengthnings of their Authority in poynt of reſpect, and obſervance, which in peacefull times is hardly payd to any Governours by the meaſure of their vertues, ſo much, as by that of their Eſtates: Poverty and meanneſſe expoſing them and their Authority to the contempt of licentious mindes and manners, which perſecuting times much reſtrained.

I would have ſuch men Biſhops, as are moſt worthy of thoſe encouragements, and beſt able to uſe them: if at any time my judgement of men failed, My good intention made my errour veniall: And ſome Biſhops, I am ſure, I had, whoſe learning, gravity, and piety, no men of any worth, or fore-head can deny. But, of all men, *I* would have Church-men, eſpe-

cially the Governours to bee redeemed from that vulgar neglect; which (besides an innate principle of vitious opposition, which is in all men against those that seem to reprove, or restrain them) will necessarily follow, both the Presbyterian parity, which makes all Ministers equall; and the Independent inferiority, which sets their Pastors below the People.

This for My judgment touching Episcopacy, wherein (God knows) I doe not gratifie any designe or passion with the least perverting of Truth.

And now I appeal to God above, and all the Christian world, whether it bee just for Subjects, or pious for Christians, by violence, and infinite indignites, with servile restraints to seek to force me their King and Soveraigne, as some men have endeavoured to doe, against all these grounds of my Iudgement, to consent to their weak and divided novelties.

The greatest pretender of them desires not more then I doe, That the Church should bee governed, as Christ hath appointed, in true Reason, and in Scripture; of which, I could never see any probable

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ſhew for any other waies: who either content themſelves with the examples of ſome Churches in their infancy and ſolitude; when one Presbyter might ſerve one Congregation, in a City or Countrey; or elſe they deny theſe moſt evident Truths, That the Apoſtles were Biſhops over thoſe Presbyters they ordained, as well as over the Churches they planted; and that Government being neceſſary for the Churches wel-being, when multiplied and ſociated, muſt alſo neceſſarily deſcend from the Apoſtles to others, after the example of that power and ſuperiority they had above others; which could not end with their perſons; ſince the uſe and ends of ſuch Government ſtill continue.

It is moſt ſure, that the pureſt Primitive and beſt Churches flouriſhed under Epiſcopacy, and ſo may ſtill, if ignorance, ſuperſtition, avarice, revenge, and other diſorderly and diſloyall poſſions had not ſo blowne up ſome mens mindes againſt it, that what they want of Reaſons, or Primitive Patterns, they ſupply with violence and oppreſſion; wherein ſome mens zeale for Biſhops Lands, Houſes, and

Revenues hath ſet them on work to eat up Epiſcopacy, which (however other men eſteem) to me is no leſs ſin then Sacrilege; or a robbery of God (the giver of all wee have) of that portion which devout minds have thankfully given it againe to him, in giving it to his Church and Prophets; through whoſe hands he graciouſly accepts even a cup of cold water, as a libation offered to himſelf.

Furthermore, as to my particular engagement above other men, by an Oath agreeable to my judgment, I am ſolemnly obliged to preſerve that Government, and the Rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfulneſſe of the Function, as Antichriſtian, (which ſome men boldly, but weakly calumniate) I could ſoon, with judgement, break that Oath, w^ch^ erroneouſly was taken by me.

But being daily by the beſt diſquiſition of truth, more confirmed in the Reaſon and Religion of that, to which I am ſworn: How can any man that wiſheth not my damnation, perſwade me at once to ſo notorious and combined ſins of Sacrilege and Perjury? beſides the many per-

perſonall injuſtices I muſt doe to many worthy men, who are as legally inveſted in their eſtates, as any who ſeek to deprive them: and they have by no law been convicted of thoſe crimes, which might forfeit their Eſtates and Lively-hoods:

I have oft wondred, how men pretending to tenderneſſe of Conſcience and Reformation, can at once tell Me, that My Coronation Oath binds Me to conſent to whatſoever they ſhall propound to Mee, (which they urge with ſuch violence) though contrary to all that Rationall and Religious freedome which every man ought to preſerve; and of which they ſeem ſo tender in their own Votes; yet at the ſame time theſe men will needs perſwade me, That I muſt and ought to diſpenſe with, and roundly breake that part of My Oath, which binds me agreeable to the beſt light of Reaſon and Religion I have to maintain the Government, and legall Rights of the Church. 'Tis ſtrange my Oath ſhould bee valid in that part, which both my ſelfe, and all men in their own caſe eſteeme injurious, and unreaſonable, as being againſt the very naturall

and essentiall liberty of our soules; yet it should be invalid, and to be broken in another clause, wherein I thinke my selfe justly obliged both to God and man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly have I been held so long, by some mens ambitious Covetousnesse, and sacrilegious Cruelty; torturing (with Mee) both Church and State, in Civill dissentions, till I be forced to consent, and declare that I do approve, what (God knows) I utterly dislike, and in my Soule abhor; as many waies highly against Reason, Iustice, and Religion: and whereto, if I should shamefully, and dishonourably give My consent, yet should I not by so doing, satisfie the divided Interests and Opinions of those Parties, which doe contend with each other, as well as both against Me, and Episcopacy.

Nor can my late condescending to the Scots in point of Church-government be rightly objected against Me, as an inducement for Mee, to consent to the like in my other Kingdomes: For it should bee considered, that Episcopacy was not so rooted, and setled there, as 'tis here; nor

I (in that respect) so strictly bound to continue it in that Kingdome as in this; for what I think in my judgment best, I may not not think so absolutely necessary for all places, and at all times.

If any shall impute my yeilding to them, as my failing and sin, I can easily acknowledge it; but that is no argument to do so againe, or much worse; I being now more convinced in that point: nor indeed hath my yeelding to them been so happy and successefull, as to encourage Me to grant the like to others.

Did I see any thing more of Christ, as to Meeknesse, Iustice, Order, Charity, and Loyaltie in those that pretend to other modes of Government, I might suspect my judgement to be biassed, or forestalled with some prejudice or wontedneſse of opinion; but I have hitherto so much cause to suspect the contrary in the manners of many of those men, that I cannot from them gaine the least reputation for their new waies of Government.

Nor can I find that in any Reformed Churches (whose patterns are so cryed up and

& obtruded upon the Churches under my Dominion) that either Learning, or Religion, works of Piety or Charity, have ſo flouriſhed beyond what they have done in My Kingdomes (by Gods bleſſing) which might make me beleeve either Presbytery, or Independency have a more benigne influence upon the church and mens hearts and lives then Epiſcopacy in its right conſtitution.

The abuſes of which deſerve to be extirpated, as much as the uſe retained; for I think it better to hold to primitive, and uniforme Antiquity, then to comply with divided novelty.

A right Epiſcopacy would at once ſatisfie all juſt deſires and intereſts of good Biſhops, humble Presbyters, and ſober People; ſo as Church affaires ſhould bee well managed, neither with tyranny, parity, nor popularity; neither Biſhops ejected, nor Presbyters deſpiſed, nor People oppreſſed.

And in this integrity both of my Iudgment and conſcience, I hope God will preſerve Me.

For thou, O Lord, knoweſt my uprightneſſe, and tenderneſſe, as thou haſt ſet Me to be a Defender of the Faith, and a Protectour of thy Church, ſo ſuffer me not by any violence, to be overborne againſt my Conſcience.

Ariſe O Lord, maintaine thine own Cauſe, let not thy Church bee deformed, as to that Government, which derived from thy Apoſtles, hath been retained in pureſt and primitive times, till the Revenues of the Church became the object of ſecular envy; which ſeeks to rob it of all the incouragements of Learning and Religion.

Make me as the good Samaritan, compaſsionate, and helpfull to thy afflicted Church; which ſome men have wounded and robbed; others paſſe by without regard, either to pitie, or relieve.

As my power is from thee, ſo give me grace to uſe it for thee.

And though I am not ſuffered to be Maſter of my other Rights as a King, yet preſerve me in that liberty of Reaſon, love of Religion, and thy Churches welfare, which are fixed in My Conſcience as a Chriſtian.

Preſerve from Sacrilegious invaſions, thoſe temporall bleſsings, which thy providence

dence hath beſtowed on thy Church for thy glory.

O thou God of Order, and of Truth, in thy good time, abate the malice, aſwage the rage, and confound all the miſchievous devices of thine, mine, and thy Churches Enemies.

That I and all that love thy Church may ſing praiſes to thee, and ever magnifie thy ſalvation, even before the ſons of men.

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18 *Upon the Treaty at Uxbridg, and other offers made by the King.*

I Looked upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beaſts to arguing like men; whoſe ſtrength ſhould bee more in their underſtandings, then in their limbs.

And though I could ſeldome get opportunity to Treat, yet I never wanted deſire, or diſpoſition to it; having greater confidence of my Reaſon then my Sword: I was ſo wholly reſolved to yield to the firſt, that I thought neither my ſelf, nor others ſhonld need to uſe the ſecond, if once we rightly underſtood each other. Nor did I ever think it a diminution of Me

to

to prevent them with Expreſſes of my deſires, and even importunities to Treate: It being an office, not only of humanity, rather to uſe Reaſon, then Force; but alſo of Chriſtiruity to ſeek Peace and enſue it.

As *I* am very unwillingly compelled to defeud my ſelfe with Armes, ſo very willingly embraced any thing tending to peace. The events of all war by the ſword being very dubious, and of a civil war, uucomfortable, the end hardly recompencing & late repairing the miſchief of the means.

Nor did any ſucceſs *I* had ever enhaunce with me the price of Peace, as earneſtly deſired by me, as any man; though *I* was like to paie dearer for it then anie man: All that *I* ſought to reſerve was, mine honour, and Conſcience, the one *I* could not part with as a King, the other as a Chriſtian.

The Treatie at *Vxbridg* gave the faireſt hopes of a happie compoſure; had others applied to it with the ſame moderation as *I* did, I am confident the war had then ended.

I was willing to condeſcend as farre as Reaſon, Honour, and Conſcience, would give me leave; nor were the remaining diffe-

differences so essential to my peoples happinesse; or of such consequence; as in the least kind to have hindred my Subjects either security or prosperity; for they better enjoyed both, many years before evet these demands were made, some of which to deny; I think the greatest Iustice to my selfe, and favour to my Subjects.

I see jealousies are not so easily allayed, as they are raised: Some men are more afraid to retreate from violent Engagements then to Engage: what is wanting in equity, must bee made up in pertinacy. Such as had little to enjoy in Peace, or to lose in War, studied to make the name of Peace odious and suspected.

In Church affairs, where I had the least liberty of prudence, having so many strict ties of Conscience upon me; yet I was willing to condescend so far to the setling of them, as might give faire satisfaction to all men, whom faction, covetousnesse, or superstition had not engaged more, then any true zeal, charity, or love of Reformation.

I was content to yeeld to all that might seem to advance true piety: I only sought to

to continue what was neceſſary in point of Order, Maintenance, and Authority to the churches Government; and what perſwaded (as I have elſewhere ſet down my thoughts more fully) is moſt agreeable to the true Principles of all Government, raiſed to its full ſtature and perfection, as alſo to the Primitive Apoſtolicall patterne and practiſe of the Vniverſall Church conform thereto.

From which wholly to recede, without any probable reaſon urged or anſwered, only to ſatisfie ſome mens wills and fantaſies (which yet agree not among themſelves in any point, but that of extirpating Epiſcopacy, and fighting againſt Mee) muſt needs argue ſuch a ſoftneſſe and infirmity of mind in mee, as will rather part with Gods Truth, then Mans Peace, and rather loſe the churches honour, then croſſe ſome mens Factious humours.

God knowes, and time will diſcover, who were moſt too blame for the un-ſucceſsfulneſſe of that Treaty, and who muſt bear the guilt of after-calamities. I believe I am very excuſable both before God, and all unpaſſionate men, who have ſeriouſly

ouſly weighed thoſe tranſactions, wherein I endeavoured no leſſe, the reſtauration of Peace to my People then the preſervation of my own Crowns to my Poſterity.

Some men have that height as to interpret all faire Condeſcendings, as Arguments of feebleneſſe, and glory moſt in unflexible ſtifneſſe, when they ſee others moſt ſupple and inclinable.

A grand Maxim with them was alwaies to ask ſomething, which in Reaſon and honour múſt bee denied, that they might have ſome colour to refuſe all that was in other things granted; ſetting Peace at as high a rate, as the worſt efects of Warre; endeavouring firſt to make Mee deſtroy my ſelfe by diſhonourable Conceſſions, that ſo they might have the leſſe to do.

This was all which that Treaty, or any other produced, to let the world ſee how little I would deny, or they grant, in order to the Publique Peace.

That it gave occaſion to ſome mens further reſtivenes, is imputable to their own depraved tempers, not to any Conceſſions or Negations of mine: I have alwaies the content of what I have offered, and they

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the regret, & blame, for what they refuſed.

The higheſt tide of ſucceſſe ſet me not above a Treaty, nor the loweſt ebb below a Fight: Though I never thought it any ſign of true valour, to be prodigall of mens lives, rather then be drawn to produce our own reaſons, or ſubſcribe to other mens.

That which made me for the moſt part preſage the unſucceſsfulneſſe of any Treaty, was, ſome mens unwillingneſs to Treat: which implied ſome things were to be gained by the Sword, whoſe unreaſonableneſſe they were loath to have fairly ſcanned, being more proper to be acted by Souldiers, than by Counſellours.

I pray God forgive them that were guilty of that Treaties breaking; and give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the Sword a better opportunity to uſe ſuch moderation as was then wanting; that ſo though Peace were for our ſins juſtly deferred, yet at laſt it may be happily obtained; what we could not get by our Treaties, we may gain by our Prayers.

O thou that art the God of Reaſon, and of Peace, who diſdaineſt not to treat with Sinners preventing them with offers of attonement and beſeeching them to be reconciled with thy

ſelf: who wanteſt not power, or juſtice, to deſtroy them; yet aboundeſt in mercy to ſave: ſoften our hearts by the bloud of our Redeemer, and perſwade us to accept of Peace with thy ſelf, and both to procure and preſerve peace among our ſelves, as men and Chriſtians. How oft have I entreated for Peace, but when I ſpeak thereof, they make them ready to War.

Condemne us not to our paſſions, which are deſtructive, both of our ſelves, and of others.

Cleare up our underſtandings, to ſee thy Truth, both in Reaſon, as Men; and in Religion, as Chriſtians: and encline all our hearts to hold the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of Peace.

Take from us that enmity which is now in our hearts againſt thee: and give us that charity which ſhould be among our ſelves.

Remove the evils of War we haue deſerved, and beſtow upon us that Peace which only Chriſt our great Peace maker can merit.

Vpon

20. *Upon the various events of the War, victories, and defeates.*

THe various Succeſſes of this unhappy War, have at leaſt, afforded Me variety of good Meditations: ſometimes God was pleaſed to try Me with Victory, by worſting My Enemies, that I might know how with moderation and thanks to own, and uſe his power, who is only the true Lord of Hoſts; able when he pleaſes to repreſſe the confidence of thoſe, that fought againſt Me, with ſo great advantages for power and number.

From ſmall beginnings on My part he let Me ſee that I was not wholly forſaken by *My* Peoples love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleaſed to exerciſe My patience, and teach Me not to truſt in the arme of Fleſh, but in the living God.

My ſins ſometimes prevailed againſt the juſtice of My Cauſe: and thoſe that were with Me wanted not matter and occaſion for his juſt chaſtiſement both of them, and Me: Nor were My Enemies leſſe puniſhed

by that prosperity, which hardened them to continue that injustice by open hostility, which was began by most riotous and unparliamentary Tumults.

There is no doubt but personall and private sins may oft-times over-balance the Iustice of Publick engagements; nor doth God account every gallant Man (in the worlds esteeme) a fit instrument to assert in the way of War a righteous Cause; The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valour and strength, the lesse doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glory.

I am sure the event or successe can never state the Iustice of any Cause, nor the peace of mens Consciences, nor the eternal fate of their Soules.

Those with Me had (I think) clearly and undoubtedly, for their justification the Word of God, and the Laws of the Land, together with their own Oaths; all requiring obedience to My just Commands; but to none other under Heaven without Me, or against Me, in the point of raising Armes.

Those on the other side are forced to flie to the shifts of some pretended Feares, and

and wild fundamentals of State (as they call them) which actually overthrow the preſent fabrick, both of Church and State; being ſuch imaginary Reaſons for ſelf-defence as are moſt impertinent for thoſe men to alledge, who being My Subjects, were manifeſtly the firſt aſſaulters of Me and the Laws: firſt by unſuppreſſing the Tumults, after by liſted Forces, The ſame Allegations they uſe, will fit any Faction that hath but power & confidence enough to ſecond with the ſword, all their demands againſt the preſent Lawes and Governours: which can be never ſuch as ſome ſide or other will not find fault with, ſo as to urge what they call a Reformation of them to a Rebellion againſt them, ſome paraſitick Preachers have dared to call thoſe Martirs, who died fighting againſt Me, the Laws, their Oathes, and the Religion Eſtabliſhed.

But ſober Chriſtians know, That glorious Title, can with Truth be applied only to thoſe, who ſincerely preferred Gods Truth, & their duty in all theſe particulars before their lives, and all that was deare to them in this world; who having no advantageous deſigns by any Innovation, were

religiously sensible of those tyes to God, the Church, my self, which lay upon their souls, both for obedience & just assistance.

God could, and I doubt not but he did through his mercy, crown many of them with eternal life, whose lives were lost in so just a *Cause*; the destruction of their bodies being sanctified as a meanes to save their soules.

Their wounds, and temporall ruin serving as a gracious opportunity for their eternall health and happines; while the evident approach of death, did through *Gods* grace, effectually dispose their hearts to such humility, faith, & repentance, which together with the Rectitude of their present engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life then that, which their enemies brutish and disloyall fierceness would deprive them of; or without Repentance hope to enjoy.

They have often indeed, had the better against my side in the Field, but never, I believe, at the Bar of Gods Tribunal, or their own consciences; where they are afraider to encounter those many pregnant reasons both from law, allegiance, & al true christiã grounds, which conflict *with*, and accuse them

them *in* their own thoughts, then they oft were in a desperate bravery to fight against those Forces, which sometimes God gave Me. Whose conditon conquered, and dying, I make no question, but is infinitely more to be chosen by a sober man (that dulues his duty, his soul, and eternity beyond the enjoyments of this present life) then the enjoyments of this present life) then the most triumphant glory, wherein their and mine enemies supervive; who can hardly avoid to be daily tormented by that horrid guilt, wherewith their suspitious, or now convicted consciences do pursue them, especially since they, and all the world have seen how false, and un-intended these pretensions were, which they first set forth, as the only plausive, (though not justifiable) grounds or rasing a war against me, and the Laws established; in whose safety and preservation all honest men think the welfare of their country consists. For, and with all which, it is more honorable & comfortable to suffer, then prosper in their ruin and subversion.

I have often praied that all on my side might joyne tme pietie with the sense of their loyalty, and bee as faithfull to God and

and their own ſoules, as they were to Me. That the defects of the one might not blaſt the endeavours of the other.

Yet I cannot thinke, that any ſhewes or truth of piety on the other ſide were ſufficient to diſpenſe with, or expiate the defects of their duty & loyalty to me, which have ſo pregnant convictions on mens Conſciences, that even profaner men are moved by the ſenſe of them to venture their lives for Me.

I never had any victory which was without my ſorrow, becauſe it was on my own Subjects, who like Abſolom, died many of them in their ſin: And I never ſuffered any Defeat, which made me deſpair of Gods mercy and defence.

I never deſired ſuch Victories, as might ſerve to conquer, but only reſtore the laws and liberties of my people; which I ſaw vvere extreamly oppreſſed, together vvith My Rights by thoſe men, who were impatient of any juſt reſtraint.

When Providence gave me, or denied me Victory, my deſire was neither to boaſt of my power, nor to charge God fooliſhly; who I beleeved at laſt would make all things

things to work together for my good.

I wished no greater advantages by the War, then to bring my Enemies to moderation, and my Freinds to peace.

I was afraid of the temptation of an absolute conqueſt, and never praied more for victory over others, then over my ſelfe. When the firſt was denied, the ſecond was granted me, which God ſaw beſt for me.

The different events were but the methods of divine juſtice, by contrary winds to winow us: That by puniſhing our ſins, he might purge them from us; and by deferring peace, he might prepare us more to prize, and better to uſe ſo great a bleſſing.

My often *Meſſages* for *Peace* ſhewed that *I* delighted not in Warre: as my former Conceſſions ſufficiently teſtified, how willingly *I* would have prevented it; and my totall unpreparedneſſe for it, how little *I* intended it.

The conſcience of my *Innocency* forbade me to fear a Warre; but the love of my Kingdoms commanded me (if poſſible) to avoid it.

I am guiltie in this War of nothing, but this, that *I* gave ſuch advantages to ſome men, by confirming their power, which they

they knew not to uſe with that modeſty, and gratitude which became their Loyalty and my confidence.

Had I yeelded leſſe, *I* had been oppoſed leſſe; had I denied more, I had been more obeyed.

'Tis now too late to view the occaſions of the War, I wiſh onely a happy concluſion, of ſo unhappy beginnings: the inevitable fate of our ſins, was (no doubt) ſuch, as would no longer ſuffer the divine juſtice to be quiet: we having conquered his patience are condemned by mutuall conquerings to deſtroy one another: for, the moſt proſperous ſucceſſes on either ſide impaire the welfare of the whole.

Thoſe Victories are ſtill miſerable, that leave our our ſins un-ſubdued, fluſhing our pride, and animating to continue Injuries.

Peace it ſelf is not deſirable, till repentance hath prepared us for it.

When we fight more againſt our ſelves, and leſſe againſt God, we ſhall ceaſe fighting againſt one another: I pray God theſe may all meet in our hearts, and ſo diſpoſe us to an happy concluſion of theſe Civil Wars; that I may know better to obey God, and governe my People, and they may learne better

better to obey both God and Me.

Nor do I desire any man should be further subject to me, then all of us may bee subiect to God.

O my God, make me content to be overcome when thou wilt have it so.

Teach me the noblest victory over my selfe, and my enemies by patience, which was Christs conquest, and may well become a Christian King.

Between both thy hands, the right sometimes supporting, and the left afflicting, fashion us to that frame of pietie thou likest best.

Forgive the pride that attends our prosperous, and the repinings, which follow our disastrous events; when going forth in our own strength, thou withdrawest thine, and goest not forth with our Armies.

Be thou all, when wee are something, and when we are nothing; that thou mayst have the glory, when we are in a victorious, or inglorious condition.

Thou O Lord, knowest, how hard it is for me to suffer so much evill from my subiects, to I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but suffer in those evils which they compell me to inflict upon them, punishing my self in their punishments.

Stirre

Stir up all Parties pious ambitions to overcome each other with reason, moderation, and such self-denyal as becomes those, who consider that our mutuall divisions are our common distractions, and the Union of all is every good mans chiefest interest.

If O Lord, as for the sins of our peace, thou hast brought upon us the miseries of Warre; so for the sins of warre thou shouldst see fit still to deny us the blessing of peace, and so to keep us in a circulation of miseries; yet give mee thy Servant, and all Loyall, though afflicted Subjects to enjoy that peace, which the world can neither give to us, nor take from us.

Impute not to me the blood of my Subjects, which with infinite unwillingnesse and griefe hath been shed by me, in my just and necessary defence; but wash me with that pretious blood which hath been shed for me, by my great Peace, maker, Iesus Christ. Who will, I trust, redeeme me shortly out of all my troubles: for, I know the triumphing of the wicked is but short, and the joy of Hypocrites but for a moment.

10. *Upon the Reformations of the Times.*

NO Glory is more to be envied then that of due Reforming either Church or State, when deformities are such, that the perturbation and novelty are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God should not honour me so farre, as to make me an instrument of so good a work, yet *I* should be glad to see it done.

As *I* was well pleased with this parliaments first intentions to reforme what the indulgence of Times, and corruption of manners might have depraved; so *I* am sorry to see after the freedome of parliament was by Factious Tumults oppressed, how little regard was had to the good Lawes established, and the Religion setled, which ought to be the first rule and standard of reforming, with how much partiality, and popular compliance the passions, and opinions of men have been gratified, to the detriment of the publique, and the infinite

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ſcandal of the reformed Religion.

What diſſolutions of all Order, and Government in the Church, what novelties of Schiſms, and corrupt opinions, what undecencies and confuſions in ſacred adminiſtrations, what ſacrilegious invaſions upon the Rights, and Revenues of the Church; what contempt & oppreſſion of the Clergy, what injurious diminutions and perſecutings of me, have followed (as ſhowres do warm gleames) the talke of Reformation, all ſober men are witneſſes, and with my ſelf, ſad ſpectators hitherto.

The great miſcarriage I think is, that popular clamours and fury, have been allowed the reputation of zeal, and the publique ſenſe, ſo that the ſtudy to pleaſe ſome Partier hath indeed injured all.

Freedome, moderation, and impartiality are ſure the beſt tempers of reforming Councels, and endeavours: what is acted by Factions, cannot but offend more then it pleaſeth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church affaires and Religion to the free conſultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly choſen; the reſults of whoſe Counſels, as they would have included the votes of al, ſo its like they wuld have given moſt ſatisfactiou to all. The

The Aſſembly of Devines, whom the the two Houſes have applied (in an unwonted way to adviſe of church affairs I diſlike not further, then that they are not legally convened and choſen; nor Act in the name of al the Clergy of England, nor with freedom and impartialitie can doe any thing, being limited and confined, if not overawed to do and declare what they do.

For I cannot think ſo many men cried up for learning and pietie, (who formerly allowed the Liturgy and Government of the Church of England, as to the maine, would have ſo ſuddenly agreed quite to aboliſh both of them, (the laſt of which, they knew to be of Apoſtolical inſtitution at leaſt; as of Primitive and Vniverſall practiſe) if they had been left to the liberty of their own ſuffrages, and if the influence of contrarie Factions had not by ſecret encroachments of hopes and fears, prevailed upon them to comply with ſo great and dangerous Inovations in the Church; without any regard to their former judgement & practice, or to the common intereſt and honor of all the Clergie, and in them of order, learning, & religion againſt examples of all Ancient Churches, the Laws in force

force, and my consent, which is never to be gained against so pregnant light, as in that point shines on my understanding.

For I conceive, that where the Scripture is not so cleare and punctuall in precepts, there the constant and Vniversall practise of the Church, in things not contrary to Reason, Faith, good manners, or any positive command, is the best Rule that Christians can follow.

I was willing to grant, or restore to presbiterie, what with Reason or Discretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with Episcopacy; but for that wholly to invade the power, and by the Sword to arrogate, and quite abrogate the Authoritie of that Ancient Order, I think neither just, as to Epispiscopacie, nor safe for Presbiterie; nor yet any way convenient for this Church or State. A due reformation had easilie followed moderate Counsels, and such (I believe, as would have given more content, even to the most of those Divines, who have been led on with much Gravitie and Formalitie to carrie on other mens designs: which no doubt many of them by this time discover, though they dare not smother their frustrations and discontents.

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The ſpecious and popular titles, of Chriſts Government, Throne, Scepter, and Kingdome (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their parties now have, at leaſt) alſo the noiſe of a through Reformation, theſe may eaſily be fixed on new models, as faire colours may be put to ill-favoured figures.

The breaking of Church-windows, which Time had ſufficiently defaced; pulling down of Croſſes, which were but civill, not Religious marks; defacing of the Monuments, and Inſcriptions of the Dead, which ſerved but to put Poſterity in mind, to thank God, for that clearer light, wherein they live; The leaving all Miniſters to their liberties, and private abilities, in the Publick ſervice of God, where no Chriſtian can tell to what he may ſay *Amen*; nor what adventure hee may make, of ſeeming, at leaſt, to conſent to the Errours, Blaſphemies, and ridiculous Undecencies, which bold and ignorant men liſt to vent in their Prayers, Preaching, and other Offices. The ſetting forth alſo of old Catechiſmes, and Confeſſions of Faith new dreſt, importing as much, as if there had been no ſound or clear Doctrine of Faith in this

Church, before ſome four or five years conſultation had matured their thoughts, touching the firſt Principles of Religion.

All theſe, and the like are the effects of popular, ſpecious, and deceitfull Reformations, (that they might not ſeem to have nothing to do) and may give ſome ſhort flaſhes of content to the vulgar, (who are taken with novelties, as children with babies, very much, but not very long.) But all this amounts not to, nor can in Juſtice merit the glory of the Churches thorow Reformation ſince they leave all things more deformed, diſorderly, and diſcontented, then when they began, in point of Piety, Morality, Charity, and good Order.

Nor can they eaſily recompence or remedy the inconveniences and miſchiefs, which they have purchaſed ſo dearly, and which have, and ever will neceſſarily enſue, till due remedies be applied.

I wiſh they would at laſt, make it their Unanimous work, to doe Gods worke, and not their own: Had Religion been firſt conſidered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But ſome men thought, that the Govern-

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ment of this Church and State, fixed by ſo many Lawes, and long Cuſtomes, would not run into their new moulds, till they had firſt melted it in the fire of a Civill Warre; by the advantages of which they reſolved, if they prevailed, to make my Self and all My Subjects fall down, and worſhip the Images they ſhould form and ſet up: If there had been as much of Chriſts Spirit, for meekneſſe, wiſdome, and charity, in mens hearts, as there was of his name uſed in the pretenſions, to reform all to Chriſts Rule, it would certainly have obtained more of Gods bleſſing, and produced more of Chriſts Glory, the Churches good, the Honour of Religion, and the Unity of Chriſtians.

Publick Reformers had need firſt Act in private, and practiſe that in their own hearts, which they purpoſe to trie on others; for Deformities within, will ſoon betray the Pretenders of publick Reformations, to ſuch private deſignes as muſt needs hinder the publick good.

I am ſure the right Methods of Reforming the Church cannot conſiſt with that of perturbing the Civill State, nor can Religion be juſtly advanced by depreſſing Loyalty,

which is one of the chiefeſt Ingredients, and Ornaments of true Religion, for next to *feare God*, is, *Honour the King*.

I doubt not but Chriſts Kingdome may be ſet up without pulling down Mine; nor will any men in impartiall times appear good Chriſtians, that approve not themſelves good Subjects.

Chriſt's Government will confirme Mine, not overthrow it, ſince as I own Mine from Him, ſo I deſire to rule for his Glory, and his Churches good.

Had ſome men truly intended Chriſt's Government, or knew what it meant, in their hearts, they could never have been ſo ill governed in their words, and actions, both againſt Me, and one another.

As good ends cannot juſtifie evill means, ſo nor will evill beginnings ever bring forth good concluſions; unleſſe God, by a miracle of Mercy, create light out of Darkneſſe, order out of our confuſions, and peace out of our paſſions.

Thou, O Lord, who onely canſt give us beauty for aſhes, and Truth for Hypocriſie; ſuffer us not to be miſerably deluded with Phariſaicall

call, waſhings, inſtead of Chriſtian reformings.

Our greateſt deformities are within, make us the ſevereſt Cenſurers, and firſt Reformers of our own ſoules.

That we may in clearneſſe of judgement, and uprightneſſe of heart be means to reforme what is indeed amiſſe in Church and State.

Create in us cleane hearts, O Lord, and renew right ſpirits within us; that wee nay doe all by thy directions, to thy glory, and with thy bleſſing.

Pity the deformities, which ſome raſh and cruell Reformers have brought upon this Church and State; Quench the fires which Factions have kindled, under the pretence of Reforming.

As thou haſt ſhewed the world by their diviſions, and confuſions, what is the pravity of ſome mens, intenſions, and weakneſſe of their judgements; ſo bring us at laſt more refined out of theſe fires, by the methods of Chriſtian and charitable Reformations; wherein nothing of ambition, revenge, covetouſneſſe, or ſacriledge, may have any influence upon their counſells, whom thy providence in juſt and lawfull waies ſhall entruſt with ſo great, good, and now moſt neceſſary work. That I and my People

may be ſo bleſt with inward piety, as may beſt teach us how to uſe the bleſſing of outward peace.

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21. *Upon His Majeſties Letters taken and divulged.*

THe taking of My Letters was an opportunity, which, as the malice of Mine enemies could hardly have expected; ſo they knew not how with honour and civility to uſe it: Nor doe I think with ſober and worthy minds any thing in them, could tend ſo much to My reproach, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamy of the Divulgers: The greateſt experiments of vertue and Nobleneſſe being diſcovered in the greateſt advantages againſt an enemy, and the greateſt obligations being thoſe, which are put upon us by them, from whom wee could leaſt have expected them.

And ſuch I ſhould have eſteemed the concealing of My Papers; The freedome and ſecreſie of which, commands a civility from all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there any

any thing more inhumane than to expoſe them to publique view.

Yet ſince providence will have it ſo, I am content ſo much of My heart (which I ſtudy to approve to Gods omniſcience) ſhould be diſcovered to the world, without any of thoſe dreſſes, or popular captations, which ſome men uſe in their Speeches, and Expreſſes; I wiſh My Subjects had yet a clearer ſight into My moſt retired thoughts:

Where they might diſcover, how they are divided between the love and care I have, not more to preſerve My own Rights, than to procure their peace and happineſſe, and that extream griefe to ſee them both deceived and deſtroyed.

Nor can any mens malice be gratified further by My Letters, than to ſee My conſtancy to my Wife, the Lawes, and Religion. Bees will gather Honey where the Spider ſucks Poiſon.

That I endeavour to avoid the preſſures of my Enemies, by all fair and juſt correſpondencies; no man can blame, who loves me, or the Common-wealth, ſince my Subjects can hardly be happy if I be miſerable, or enjoy their peace & liberties while I am oppreſſed,

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The world may ſee how ſoon mens deſign, like *Abſoloms*, is by enormous actions to widen differences, and exaſperate all ſides to ſuch diſtances, as may make all reconciliation deſperate.

Yet I thank God I can not only with patience bear this, as other indignities, but with Charity forgive them.

The integrity of my intentions is not jealous of any injury, My expreſſions can doe them, for although the confidence of privacy may admit greater freedome in writing ſuch Letters, which may be liable to envious exceptions; yet the Innocency of My chiefe purpoſes cannot be ſo obtained, or miſ-interpreted by them, as not to let all men ſee, that I wiſh nothing more then an happy compoſure of differences with Juſtice and Honour, not more to My own, then My peoples content, who have any ſparks of Love or Loyalty left in them: who, by thoſe My Letters may be convinced, that I can both mind and act my own, and my Kingdomes Affaires, ſo as becomes a Prince; which mine Enemies have alwayes been very loath ſhould be believed of me, as if I were wholly confined to the

Dictates

Dictates and Directions of others; whom they pleaſe to brand with the names of Evill Counſellours.

Its probable ſome men will now looke upon me as my owne Counſellour, and having none elſe to quarrell with under that notion, they will hereafter confine their anger to my ſelfe: Although I know they are very unwilling I ſhould enjoy the liberty of my owne Thoughts, or follow the light of my owne Conſcience, which they labour to bring into an abſolute captivity to themſelves; not allowing me to thinke their Counſels to be other then good for me, which have ſo long maintained a War againſt me.

The Victory they obtained that day, when my Letters became their prize, had been enough to have ſatiated the moſt ambitious thirſt of popular glory among the Vulgar; with whom proſperity gaines the greateſt eſteem and applauſe; as adverſity expoſeth to their greateſt ſlighting and diſ-reſpect: As if good fortune were alwayes the ſhadow of Vertue and Juſtice, and did not oftner attend vitious and injurious actions, as to this world.

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But I ſee no ſecular advantages ſeeme ſufficient to that cauſe, which began with Tumults, and depends chiefly upon the reputation with the vulgar.

They think no Victories ſo effectuall to their deſignes as thoſe, that moſt rout and waſte my Credit with my People; in whoſe hearts they ſeek by all means to ſmother and extinguiſh all ſparks of Love, Reſpect and Loyalty to Me, that they may never kindle again, ſo as to recover Mine, the Laws, and the Kingdomes Liberties, which ſome men ſeek to overthrow: The taking away of my Credit is but a neceſſary preparation to the taking away of my Life, and my Kingdoms. Firſt I muſt ſeem neither fit to Live, nor worthy to Reign; By exquiſite methods of cunning and cruelty, I muſt be compelled, firſt to follow the Funeralls of my Honour, and then be deſtroyed: But I know Gods un-erring and impartiall Juſtice can, and will over-rule the moſt perverſe wills and deſignes of men; He is able, and (I hope) will turn even the worſt of mine Enemies thoughts and actions to my good.

Nor doe I thinke, that by the ſurprize of my Letters, I have loſt any more then ſo ma-

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ny papers: How much they have loſt of that reputation, for Civility and Humanity (which ought to be pay'd to all men, and moſt becomes ſuch as pretend to Religion) beſides that of reſpect and Honour, which they owe to their KING, preſent, and after-times will judge. And I cannot think that their owne conſciences are ſo ſtupid, as to inflict upon them ſome ſecret impreſſions of that ſhame and diſhonour, which attends all unworthy actions, have they never ſo much of publique flattery, and popular countenance.

I am ſure they can never expect the divine approbation of ſuch indecent actions, if they doe but remember how God bleſt the modeſt reſpect and filiall tenderneſſe, which *Noah*'s Sonnes bare to their Father; nor did his open infirmity juſtifie *Chams* impudency, or exempt him from that curſe of being *Servant of ſervants*; which curſe muſt needs be on them who ſeeke by diſhonourable actions to pleaſe the Vulgar, and confirme by ignoble acts, their dependance upon the People.

Nor can their malicious intentions be ever either excuſable, or proſperous; who thought

thought by this means to expoſe Me, to the higheſt reproach and contempt of My People; forgetting that duty of modeſt concealment, which they owed to the Father of their Country, in caſe they had diſcovered any reall uncomelineſſe; which, I thanke God they did not; who can, and I believe hath made Me more reſpected in the hearts of many (as he did *David*) to whom they thought, by publiſhing My private Letters, to have rendred Me as a Vile Perſon, not fit to be truſted or conſidered, under any Notion of Majeſty.

But thou, O Lord, whoſe wiſe and all diſpoſing providence, ordereth the greateſt contingences of humane affaires; make me to ſee the conſtancy of thy mercies to me, in the greateſt advantages thou ſeemeſt to give the malice of my Enemies againſt me.

As thou didſt blaſt the counſell of Achitophell, *turning it to* Davids *good, and his owne ruine: ſo canſt thou defeat their deſigne, who intended by publiſhing my private Letters, nothing elſe, but to render me more odious and contemptible to My People.*

I muſt firſt appeale to thy Omniſcience, who canſt

canſt witneſſe with my integrity, how unjuſt and falſe thoſe ſcandalous miſconſtructions are, which my enemies endeavour by thoſe Papers of mine to repreſent to the world.

Make the evill they imagined, and diſpleaſure they intended thereby againſt me, ſo to returne on their owne heads, that they may be aſhamed, and covered with their owne confuſion, as with a Cloake.

Thou ſeeſt how mine Enemies uſe all meanes to cloud mine Honour, to pervert my purpoſes, and to ſlander the foot ſteps of thine Anointed.

But give me an heart content to be diſhonoured for thy ſake, and thy Churches good.

Fix in me a purpoſe to honour thee, and then I know thou wilt honour me, either by reſtoring to me the enjoyment of that Power and Majeſty, which thou haſt ſuffered ſome men to ſeeke to deprive me of; or by beſtowing on me that crowne of Chriſtian patience, which knows how to ſerve thee in honour, or diſhonour, in good report or evill.

Thou, O Lord, art the fountaine of goodneſſe, and honour; thou art clothed with excellent Majeſty; make me to partake of thy excellency for wiſdome, juſtice, and mercy, and I ſhall not want that degree of Honour, and Majeſty, which

which becomes the Place in which thou haſt ſet Me; who art the lifter up of my head, and My ſalvation.

Lord, by thy Grace, lead Me to thy Glory, which is both true and eternall.

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22. *Upon His Majeſties leaving* Oxford, *and going to the* Scots.

ALthough God hath given mee three Kingdomes, yet in theſe He hath not now left Me any place, where I may with Safety and Honour reſt my Head: Shewing me that himſelfe is the ſafeſt Refuge, and the ſtrongeſt Tower of defence, in which I may put my Truſt.

In theſe extremities, I look not to man ſo much as to God, He will have it thus; that I may wholly caſt my ſelf, and my now diſtreſſed affaires upon his mercy, who hath both hearts and hands of all men in his diſpoſe.

What Providence denies to Force, it may grant to Prudence: Neceſſity is now my Counſellour, and commands me to ſtudy my ſafety by a diſguiſed withdrawing from

from my chiefeſt ſtrength, and adventuring upon their Loyalty, who firſt began my Troubles. Happily God may make them a means honourably to compoſe them.

This my confidence of Them, may diſarme and overcome them; my rendring my Perſon to Them, may engage their affections to me, who have oft profeſſed, *They fought not againſt Me, but for Me.*

I muſt now reſolve the riddle of their Loyalty: and give them opportunity to let the world ſee, they meane not what they doe, but what they ſay.

Yet muſt God be my chiefeſt Guard; and my Conſcience both my Counſellour and my Comforter: Though I put my body into their hands, yet I ſhall reſerve my Soule to God, and my ſelfe; nor ſhall any neceſſities compell me, to deſert mine Honour, or ſwerve from my Judgement.

What they ſought to take by force, ſhall now be given them in ſuch away of unuſuall confidence of them, as may make them aſhamed not to be really ſuch, as they ought, and profeſſed to be.

God ſees it not enough to deſert me of all military power to defend my ſelf, but to put me

Me upon using their power, who seem to fight against Me, yet ought in duty to defend Me.

So various are all humane affaires, and so necessitous may the state of Princes be, that their greatest danger may be in their supposed safety, and their safety in their supposed danger.

I must now leave those, that have adhered to Me, and apply to those that have Opposed Me; this method of Peace may bee more prosperous, than that of Warre, both to stop the effusion of bloud, and to close those wounds already made: and in it I am no lesse solicitous for My Friends safety, than Mine own; chusing to venture My self upon further hazards, rather than expose their resolute Loyalty to all extremities.

It is some skill in play to know when a game is lost; better fairly to give over, than to contest in vaine.

I must now study to re-inforce My judgement, and fortifie My mind with Reason and Religion; that I may not seem to offer up My Souls liberty, or make My Conscience their Captive; who ought at first to have used Arguments, not Armes, to have perswaded

perſwaded My conſent to their new demands.

I thanke God no ſucceſſe, darkens or diſguiſes Truth to me; and I ſhall no leſſe conforme my words to my inward dictates now, than if they had been, as the words of a KING ought to be among loyall Subjects, *full of power*.

Reaſon is the divineſt power. I ſhall never think my ſelfe weakned while I may make full and free uſe of that. No eclypſe of outward fortune ſhall rob me of that light; what God hath denied of outward ſtrength, his grace, I hope, will ſupply with inward reſolutions; not moroſely to deny, what is fit to be granted; but not to grant any thing, which Reaſon and Religion bids me deny.

I ſhall never think my ſelf leſſe than my ſelf, while I am able thus to preſerve the Integrity of my Conſcience, the onely Jewell now left me, which is worth keeping.

O thou Soveraigne of our Soules, the onely Commander of our Conſciences; though I know not what to doe, yet mine eyes are toward thee: To the protection of thy mercy I ſtill commend my ſelfe.

As thou haſt preſerved me in the day of Battaile, ſo thou canſt ſtill ſhew me thy ſtrength in my weakneſſe.

Be thou unto me in my darkeſt night, a pillar of fire, to enlighten and direct me; in the day of my hotteſt affliction, be alſo a pillar of cloud to overſhadow and protect me; be to me, both a Sun and a Shield.

Thou knoweſt, that it is not any perverſneſſe of will, but juſt perſwaſions of Honour, Reaſon, and Religion, which have made me thus farre to hazard my Perſon, Peace, and Safety, againſt thoſe, that by force have ſought to wreſt them from Mee.

Suffer not my juſt reſolutions to abate with my outward Forces; let a good Conſcience alwayes accompany Me, in My ſolitude and deſertions.

Suffer me not to betray the powers of Reaſon, and that fortreſſe of My Soule, which I am intruſted to keep for thee.

Lead Me in the paths of thy righteouneſſe, and ſhew me thy ſalvation.

Make my wayes to pleaſe thee, and then thou wilt make Mine Enemies to be at peace with Me.

23. *Upon the* Scots *delivering the* KING *to the* Engliſh; *and his Captivity at* Holmby.

YEt may I juſtifie thoſe *Scots* to all the world in this, that they have not deceived me; for I never truſted to them further, than to men: if I am ſold by them, I am onely ſorry they ſhould doe it; and that my price ſhould be ſo much above my Saviours.

Theſe are but further Eſſays, which God will have me make of mans uncertainty, the more to fix me on himſelf; who never faileth them that truſt in him; Though the Reeds of *Egypt* break under the hand of him that leans on them: yet the Rock of *Iſrael* will be an everlaſting ſtay and defence.

Gods providence commands me to retire from all to himſelf, that in him I may enjoy my ſelf, which I loſe, while I let out my hopes to others.

The ſolitude and captivity, to which I am now reduced, gives me leiſure enough to ſtudy the worlds vanity, and inconſtancy.

God ſees 'tis fit to deprive me of Wife, Children, Army, Friends, and Freedome, that I may be wholly his, who alone is all.

I care not much to be reckoned among the Unfortunate, if I be not in the black Liſt of irreligious, and ſacrilegious Princes.

No Reſtraint ſhall enſnare my Soule in ſin; nor gain that of me, which may make my Enemies more inſolent, my friends aſhamed, or my Name accurſed.

They have no great cauſe to triumph, that they have got my Perſon into their power; ſince my Soule is ſtill my owne: nor ſhall they ever gaine my Conſent againſt my Conſcience.

What they call obſtinacy, I know God accounts honeſt conſtancy, from which Reaſon and Religion, as well as Honour, forbid me to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not Evill Counſellours with me, but a good Conſcience in me, which hath been fought againſt; nor did they ever intend to bring me to my Parliament, till they had brought my mind to their obedience.

Should I grant what ſome men deſire, I ſhould be ſuch as they wiſh me; not more a

King,

King, and far leſſe both Man and Chriſtian.

What Tumults and Armies could not obtaine, neither ſhall Reſtraint; which though it have as little of ſafety to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The feare of men ſhall never be my ſnare; nor ſhall the love of any liberty entangle my ſoule: Better others betray me, than my ſelf: and that the price of my liberty ſhould be my Conſcience; the greateſt injuries my Enemies ſeek to inflict upon me, cannot be without my own conſent.

While I can deny with Reaſon, I ſhall defeat the greateſt impreſſions of their malice, who neither know how to uſe worthily, what I have already granted; nor what to require more of me but this, That I would ſeem willing to help them to deſtroy My ſelf and mine.

Although they ſhould deſtroy me, yet they ſhall have no cauſe to deſpiſe me.

Neither liberty nor life are ſo deare to me, as the peace of my Conſcience, the Honour of my Crownes, and the welfare of my People; which my Word may injure more than any Warre can doe; while I gratifie a few to oppreſſe all.

The Lawes will, by Gods blessing, revive, with the love and Loyalty of my Subjects; if I bury them not by my Consent, and cover them in that grave of dishonour, and injustice, which some mens violence hath digged for them.

If my Captivity or death must be the price of their redemption, I grudge not to pay it. No condition can make a King miserable, which carries not with it, his Souls, his Peoples, and Posterities thraldome.

After-times may see, what the blindnesse of this Age will not; and God may at length shew my Subjects, that I chuse rather to suffer for them, than with them; happily I might redeem my selfe to some shew of liberty, if I would consent to enslave them: I had rather hazard the ruine of one King, than to confirme many Tyrants over them; from whom I pray God deliver them, whatever becomes of Me, whose solitude hath not left Me alone.

For thou, O God, infinitely good, and great, art with Me, whose presence is better than life; and whose service is perfect freedome.

Owne Me for thy Servant, and I shall never have

have cauſe to complaine for want of that liberty, which becomes a Man, a Chriſtian, and a King.

Bleſſe Me ſtill with Reaſon, as a Man; with Religion, as a Chriſtian; and with Conſtancy in Juſtice, as a King.

Though thou ſuffereſt Me to be ſtript of all outward ornaments, yet preſerve Me ever in thoſe enjoyments, wherein I may enjoy thy ſelf; and which, cannot be taken from Me againſt my will.

Let no fire of affliction boyle over My paſſion to any impatience, or ſordid feares.

There be many ſay of Me, there is no help for Me: doe thou lift up the light of thy Countenance upon me, and I ſhall neither want ſafety, liberty, nor Majeſty.

Give me that meaſure of patience and Conſtancy, which my condition now requires.

My ſtrength is ſcattered, my expectation from Men defeated, my Perſon reſtrained: O be not thou farre from me, leſt my Enemies prevaile too much againſt me.

I am become a wonder, and a ſcorne to many: O be thou my Helper and Defender.

Shew ſome token upon me for good, that they that hate me may be aſhamed, becauſe thou

Lord haſt holpen and comforted me: eſtabliſh me with thy free Spirit, that I may do, and ſuffer thy will, as thou wouldſt have me.

Be mercifull to me, O Lord, for my Soule truſteth in thee: yea and in the ſhadow of thy wings will I make my refuge untill theſe calamities be overpaſt.

Ariſe to deliver me, make no long tarrying, O my God. Though thou killeſt me, yet will I truſt in thy mercy, and my Saviours merit.

I know that my Redeemer liveth; though thou leadeſt me through the vayl and ſhadow of death, yet ſhall I feare none ill.

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24. *Upon their denying His Majeſty the Attendance of His Chaplaines.*

WHen Providence was pleaſed to deprive Me of all other civill comforts and ſecular attendants, I thought the abſence of them all might beſt be ſupplyed by the attendance of ſome of My Chaplaines; whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelity I have cauſe to love. By their learning, piety, and prayers,

prayers, I hoped to be either better enabled to ſuſtaine the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and uſe of them in Gods good time: ſo reaping by their pious help a ſpirituall harveſt of grace amidſt the thornes, and after the plowings of temporall croſſes.

The truth is, I never needed or deſired more the ſervice and aſſiſtance of men judiciouſly pious, and ſoberly devout.

The ſolitude they have confined Me unto, adds the Wilderneſſe to my temptations; For the company they obtrude upon Me, is more ſad than any ſolitude can be.

If I had asked My Revenues, My Power of the *Militia*, or any one of My Kingdomes, it had been no wonder to have been denyed in thoſe things, where the evill policy of men forbids all juſt reſtitution, leſt they ſhould confeſſe an injurious uſurpation: But to deny Me the Ghoſtly comfort of My Chaplaines, ſeems a greater rigour and barbarity, then is ever uſed by Chriſtians to the meaneſt Priſoners, and greateſt Malefactors; whom though the Juſtice of the Law deprive of worldly comforts, yet the mercy of Religion allows them the benefit of their Clergy,

Clergy, as not ayming at once to deſtroy their Bodyes, and to damne their Soules.

But My Agony muſt not be relieved with the preſence of any one good Angell; for ſuch I account a Learned, Godly, and diſcreet Divine: and ſuch I would have all Mine to be.

They that envy My being a King, are loath I ſhould be a Chriſtian; while they ſeek to deprive me of all things elſe, They are afraid I ſhould ſave my Soul.

Other ſenſe, Charity it ſelfe can hardly pick out of thoſe many harſh Repulſes I received, as to that Requeſt ſo often made for the attendance of ſome of my Chaplaines.

I have ſometime thought the Unchriſtianneſſe of thoſe denialls might ariſe from a diſpleaſure ſome men had to ſee me prefer my own Divines before their Miniſters: whom, though I reſpect for that worth and piety which may be in them; yet I cannot thinke them ſo proper for any preſent comforters or Phyſitians; Who have (ſome of them at leaſt) had ſo great an influence in occaſioning theſe calamities, and inflicting theſe wounds upon Me.

Nor are the ſobereſt of them ſo apt for that

that devotionall complyance, and juncture of hearts, which I desire to beare in those holy Offices, to be performed with Me, and for Me; since their judgements standing at a distance from me, or in jealousie of me, or in opposition against me, their Spirits cannot so harmoniously accord with mine, or mine with theirs, either in Prayer, or other holy duties, as is meet, and most comfortable; whose golden Rule, and bond of Perfection consists in that of mutuall Love and Charity.

Some remedies are worse then the disease, and some comforters more miserable then misery it selfe; when like *Jobs* friends, they seek not to fortifie ones mind with patience; but perswade a man by betraying his own Innocency, to despaire of Gods mercy; and by Justifying their injuries, to strengthen the hands, and harden the hearts of Insolent Enemies.

I am so much a friend to all Churchmen, that have any thing in them beseeming that sacred function, that I have hazarded my own Interests, chiefly upon Conscience and Constancy to maintaine their Rights; whom the more I looked upon as Orphans,

and

and under the ſacrilegious eyes of many cruell and rapacious Reformers; ſo I thought it my duty and the more to appeare as a Father, and a Patron for them and the Church. Although I am very unhandſomly requited by ſome of them; who may live to repent no leſſe for my ſufferings, than their own ungratefull errours, and that injurious contempt and meaneſſe, which they have brought upon their Calling and Perſons.

I pity all of them, I deſpiſe none: only I thought I might have leave to make choice of ſome for my ſpeciall Attendants, who were beſt approved in my Judgemement, and moſt ſutable to my affection. For, I held it better to ſeem undevout, and to heare no mens prayers, than to be forced, or ſeeme to comply with thoſe petitions, to which the heart cannot conſent, nor the tongue ſay *Amen*, without contradicting a mans owne underſtanding, or belying his owne ſoule.

In Devotions, I love neither profane boldneſſe, nor pious non-ſenſe; but ſuch an humble and judicious gravity as ſhewes the Speaker to be at once conſiderate both of Gods

Gods Majeſty, the Churches honour, and his owne Vileneſſe; knowing what things God allows him to ask, and in what manner it becomes a Sinner to ſupplicate the divine Mercy for himſelf, and others.

I am equally ſcandalized with all prayers, that ſound either imperiouſly, or rudely, and paſſionately; as either wanting humility to God, or charity to men, or reſpect to the duty.

I confeſſe I am better pleaſed, as with ſtudied and premeditated Sermons, ſo with ſuch publique Formes of Prayer, as are fitted to the Churches and every Chriſtians daily and common neceſſities; becauſe I am by them better aſſured, what I may joyne my heart unto, than I can be of any mans extemporary ſufficiency; which as I doe not wholly exclude from publique occaſions, ſo I allow its juſt liberty and uſe in private and devout retirements; where neither the ſolemnity of the duty, nor the modeſt reguard to others, doe require ſo great exactneſſe as to the manner of performance. Though the light of underſtanding, and the fervency of affection, I hold the maine and moſt neceſſary requiſites both in conſtant,

and

and occaſionall, ſolitary, and ſociall Devotions.

So that I muſt needs ſeeme to all equall minds with as much Reaſon to prefer the ſervice of my own Chaplains before that of their Miniſters, as I doe the Liturgy before their Directory.

In the one, I have been alwaies educated and exerciſed; In the other, I am not yet Catechized, nor acquainted: And if I were, yet ſhould I not by that, as by any certeine rule and Canon of devotion, be able to follow or find out the indirect extravagancies of moſt of thoſe men, who highly cry up that as a piece of rare compoſure and uſe; which is already as much deſpiſed and diſuſed by many of them, as the Common-Prayer ſometimes was by thoſe men; a great part of whoſe piety hung upon that popular pin of rayling againſt, and contemning the Government and Liturgy of this Church. But, I had rather be condemned to the woe of *Væ ſoli*, than to that of *Væ vobis Hypocritis*, by ſeeming to pray what I do not approve.

It may be, I am eſteemed by my Denyers ſufficient of my ſelf to diſcharge my duty to God

God as a Prieſt, though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed, I thinke both Offices, Regall and Sacerdotall, might well become the ſame Perſon, as anciently they were under one name, and the united rights of primogeniture: Nor could I follow better preſidents, if I were able, than, thoſe two eminent Kings, *David*, and *Solomon*, not more famous for their Scepters and Crownes, than one was for devout Pſalmes and Prayers; the other for his divine Parables and Preaching: whence the one merited and aſſumed the name of a Prophet, the other of a Preacher. Titles indeed of greater honour, where rightly placed, than any of thoſe the Roman Emperours affected from the Nations they ſubdued: it being infinitely more glorious to convert Soules to Gods Church by the Word, than to conquer men to a ſubjection by the Sword.

Yet ſince the order of Gods wiſdome and providence hath, for the moſt part, alwaies diſtinguiſhed the gifts and offices of Kings, of Prieſts, of Princes and Preachers; both in the Jewiſh and Chriſtian Churches: I am ſorry to find my ſelf reduced to the

he neceſſity of being both, or enjoying either.

For ſuch as ſeek to deprive me of Kingly Power and Soveraignty; would no leſſe enforce Me to live many Months without all Prayers, Sacraments, and Sermons, unleſſe I become My own Chaplaine.

As I owe the Clergy the protection of a Chriſtian KING, ſo I deſire to enjoy from them the benefit of their gifts and prayers; which I look upon as more prevalent than My owne, or other mens; by how much they flow from minds more enlightned, and affections leſſe diſtracted, than thoſe, which are encombred with ſecular affaires: beſides, I think a greater bleſſing and acceptableneſſe attends thoſe duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to, and within the limits of that calling, to which God and the Church have ſpecially deſigned and conſecrated ſome men: And however, as to that Spirituall Government, by which the devout Soule is ſubject to Chriſt, and through his merits daily offers it ſelf and its ſervices to GOD, every private believer is a King and Prieſt, inveſted with the honour of a Royall Prieſthood; yet as to Eccleſiaſticall

ſticall order, and the outward polity of the Church, I think confuſion in Religion will as certainly follow every mans turning Prieſt or Preacher, as it will in the State, where every one affects to rule as King.

I was alwaies bred to more modeſt, and I think more pious Principles: the conſciouſneſſe to My ſpirituall defects makes Me more prize and deſire thoſe pious aſſiſtances, which holy and good Miniſters, either Biſhops or Presbyters, may afford Me; eſpecially in theſe extremities, to which God hath been pleaſed to ſuffer ſome of My Subjects to reduce Me; ſo as to leave them nothing more, but My life to take from Me: and to leave me nothing to deſire, which I thought might leſſe provoke their jealouſie and offence to deny Me, than this of having ſome means afforded Me for My Soules comfort and ſupport.

To which end I made choice of men, as no way (that I know) ſcandalous, ſo every way eminent for their learning and piety, no leſſe than for their Loyalty: nor can I imagine any exceptions to be made againſt them, but only this, that they may ſeem too

able, and too well affected toward Me and My ſervice.

But this is not the firſt ſervice (as I count it the beſt) in which they have forced Me to ſerve my ſelf; though I muſt confeſſe I beare with more grief and impatience the want of My Chaplaines, than of any other My Servants; and next (if not beyond in ſome things) to the being ſequeſtred from My Wife and Children, ſince from theſe indeed more of humane and temporary affections, but from thoſe more of heavenly and eternall improvemements may be expected.

My comfort is, that in the inforced (not neglected) want of ordinary meanes, God is wont to afford extraordinary ſupplies of his gifts and graces.

If his Spirit will teach Me and help My Infirmities in prayer, reading and meditation (as I hope he will) I ſhall need no other, either Oratour or Inſtructer.

To Thee therefore, O My God, doe I direct My now ſolitary prayers; what I want of others help, ſupply with the more immediate aſſiſtances of thy Spirit, which alone can both enlighten My darkneſſe, and quicken my dulneſſe.

O thou Sun of righteouſneſſe, thou ſacred Fountain of heavenly light and heat, at once cleare and warme my heart, both by inſtructing of me, and interceding for me: In thee is all fulneſſe: From thee all-ſufficiency: By thee is all acceptance. Thou art company enough, and comfort enough: Thou art my King, be alſo my Prophet and my Prieſt. Rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me; and be thou ever with me.

The ſingle wreſtlings of Jacob *prevailed with thee, in that ſacred Duell, when he had none to ſecond him but thy ſelfe; who didſt aſſiſt him with power to overcome thee, and by a welcome violence to wreſt a bleſſing from thee.*

O looke on me thy Servant, in infinite mercy, whom thou didſt once bleſſe with the joynt and ſociated Devotions of others, whoſe fervencie might inflame the coldneſſe of my affections towards thee; when we went to, or met in thy Houſe with the voice of joy and gladneſſe, worſhipping thee in the unity of ſpirits, and with the bond of Peace.

O forgive the neglect, and not improving of thoſe happy opportunities.

It is now thy pleaſure that I ſhould be as a Pelican in the wilderneſſe, as a Sparrow on the houſe top, and as a coale ſcattered from all thoſe

pious glowings, and devout reflections, which might best kindle, preserve, and encrease the holy fire of thy graces on the Altar of my heart, whence the sacrifice of prayers, and incense of praises, might be duly offered up to thee.

Yet O thou that breakest not the bruized Reed, nor quenchest the smoakidg Flax, doe not despise the weakness of my prayers, nor the smotherings of my soule in this uncomfortable loneness; to which I am constrained by some mens uncharitable denialls of those helps, which I much want, and no lesse desire.

O let the hardness of their hearts occasion the softnings of mine to thee, and for them. Let their hatred kindle my love, let their unreasonable denials of my Religious desires the more excite my prayers to thee. Let their inexorable deafness incline thine eare to me; who art a God easie to be entreated; thine eare is not heavy, that it cannot, nor thy heart hard, that it will not heare; nor thy hand shortned, that it cannot help Me thy desolate Supplyant.

Thou permittest men to deprive me of those outward means, which thou hast appointed in thy Church; but they cannot debarre me from the communion of that inward grace, which thou alone breathest into humble hearts.

O make me ſuch, and thou wilt teach me; thou wilt heare me, thou wilt help me: The broken and contrite heart I know thou wilt not deſpiſe.

Thou, O Lord canſt at once make me thy Temple, thy Prieſt, thy Sacriſice, and thine Altar; while from an humble heart I (alone) daily offer up in holy meditations, fervent prayers, and unfeigned teares my ſelf to thee; who prepareſt me for thee, dwelleſt in me, and acceptеſt of me.

Thou O Lord didſt cauſe by ſecret ſupplies and miraculous infuſions, that the handfull of meale in the veſſell ſhould not ſpend, nor the little oyle in the cruiſe fayle the Widow during the time of drought and dearth.

O look on my ſoul, which as a Widow is now deſolate and forſaken: let not thoſe ſaving truths I have formerly learned now faile my memory; nor the ſweet effuſioas of thy Spirit, which I have ſometime felt, now be wanting to my heart in this famine of ordinary and wholſome food for the refreſhing of my Soule.

Which yet I had rather chuſe than to feed from thoſe hands who mingle my bread with aſhes, and my wine with gall; rather tormenting, than teaching me; whoſe mouthes are

proner to bitter reproaches of me, than to hearty prayers for me.

Thou knoweſt, O Lord of truth, how oft they wreſt thy holy Scriptures to My deſtruction, (which are cleare for their ſubjection, and my preſervation) O let it not be to their damnation.

Thou knoweſt how ſome men (under colour of long prayers) have ſought to devoure the houſes of their Brethren, their King, and their God.

O Let not thoſe mens balmes break my head, nor their Cordialls oppreſſe my heart, I will evermore pray againſt their wickedneſſe.

From the poyſon under their tongues, from the ſnares of their lips, from the fire, and the ſwords of their words ever deliver Me, O Lord, and all thoſe Loyall and Religious hearts, who deſire and delight in the proſperity of my ſoul, and who ſeek by their prayers to relieve this ſadneſſe, and ſolitude of thy ſervant, O my King and my God.

25. Penitentiall

25. Penitentiall Meditations and Vowes in the KING's ſolitude at *Holmby*.

GIve eare to my words O Lord, conſider my Meditation, and hearken to the voice of my cry, my King and my God, for unto thee will I pray.

I ſaid in my haſte I am caſt out of the ſight of thine eyes; nevertheleſſe thou heareſt the voice of my ſupplication, when I cry unto thee.

If thou Lord ſhouldſt be extreame to marke what is done amiſſe, who can abide it? But there is mercy with thee, that thou mayeſt be feared; therefore ſhall ſinners fly unto thee.

I ackowledge my ſins before thee, which have the aggravation of my condition; the eminency of my place adding weight to my offences.

Forgive, I beſeech thee, my Perſonall, and my Peoples ſinnes; which are ſo farre mine, as I have not improved the power thou gaveſt me, to thy glory, and my Subjects good: Thou haſt now brought me from the glory and freedome of a King, to be a Priſoner to my owne Subjects: Juſtly, O Lord, as to thy over-ruling hand,

becauſe in many things I have rebelled againſt thee.

Though thou haſt reſtrained my Perſon, yet enlarge my heart to thee, and thy grace towards Me.

I come far ſhort of Davids *pietie; yet ſince I may equall* Davids *afflictions, give me alſo the comforts and the ſure mercies of* David.

Let the penitent ſenſe I have of my ſins, be an evidence to me, that thou haſt pardoned them.

Let not the evils, which I and my Kingdomes have ſuffered, ſeeme little unto thee; though thou haſt not puniſhed us according to our ſins.

Turne thee (O Lord) unto me have mercie upon me; for I am deſolate and afflicted.

The ſorrows of my heart are enlarged; O bring thou me out of my troubles.

Haſt thou forgotten to be gracious, and ſhut up thy loving kindneſſe in diſpleaſure?

O remember thy compaſſions of old, and thy loving kindneſſes, which have been for many generations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not beleeved to ſee thy goodneſſe in the land of the living.

Let not the ſinnes of our proſperitie deprive us of the beneſit of thy afflictions.

Let

Let this fiery triall consume the drosse which in long peace and plentie we had contracted.

Though thou continuest miseries, yet withdraw not thy grace; what is wanting of prosperitie, make up in patience and repentance.

And if thy anger be not to be yet turned away, but thy hand of justice must be stretched out stil; Let it I beseech thee be against me, and my Fathers house; as for these sheep, what have they done?

Let my sufferings satiate the malice of mine, and thy Churches Enemies.

But let their cruelty never exceed the measure of my charitie.

Banish from me all thoughts of Revenge, that I may not lose the reward, nor thou the glory of my patience.

As thou givest me a heart to forgive them, so I beseech thee doe thou forgive what they have done against thee and me.

And now, O Lord, as thou hast given me an heart to pray unto thee; so heare and accept this Vow, which I make before thee.

If thou wilt in mercie remember Me, and my Kingdomes; In continuing the light of thy Gospell, and setling thy true Religion among us.

In restoring to us the benefit of the Laws, and the due execution of Justice.

In suppressing the many Schismes in Church, and Factions in State.

If thou wilt restore me and mine to the Ancient rights and glory of my Predecessours.

If thou wilt turne the hearts of my people to thy self in Pietie, to me in Loyaltie, and to one another in Charitie.

If thou wilt quench the flames, and withdraw the fewell, of these Civill warres.

If thou wilt blesse us with the freedome of publick Counsels, and deliver the Honour of Parliaments from the insolencie of the vulgar.

If thou wilt keep me from the great offence of enacting any thing against my Conscience; and especially from consenting to sacrilegious rapines, and spoilings of thy Church.

If thou wilt restore me to a capacitie to glorifie thee in doing good, both to the Church and State.

Then shall my soul praise thee, and magnifie thy name before my People.

Then shall thy glorie be dearer to me then my Crownes; and the advancement of true Religion both in purity and power be my chiefest care.

Then

Then will I rule my People with Justice, and my Kingdomes with equitie.

To thy more immediate hand shall I ever own as the rightfull succession, so the mercifull restauration of My Kingdomes, and the glorie of them.

If thou wilt bring Me again with peace, safetie, and honour, to my chiefest Citie, and my Parliament.

If thou wilt againe put the Sword of Justice into my hand to punish and protect.

Then will I make all the world to see, and my verie Enemies to enjoy the benefit of this Vow and resolution of Christian charitie, which I now make unto thee O Lord.

As I doe freelie pardon for Christ's sake those that have offended me in any kind; so my hand shall never be against any man to revenge what is past, in regard of any particular injurie done to me.

Wee have been mutuallie punished in our unnaturall divisions; for thy sake, O Lord, and for the love of my Redeemer, have I purposed this in my heart, That I will use all meanes in the waies of amnestie, and indempnitie, which may most fully remove all fears, and burie all jealousies in forgetfulnesse.

Let

Let thy mercies be toward me and mine, as my reſolutions of Truth and Peace are toward my People.

Heare my Prayer, O Lord, which goeth not out of fayned lips.

Bleſſed be God, who hath not turned away my prayer; nor taken his mercy from me.

O my ſoule, commit thy way to the Lord, truſt in him, and he ſhall bring it to paſſe.

But if thou wilt not reſtore me and mine, what am I that I ſhould charge thee fooliſhly?

Thou O Lord haſt given, and thou haſt taken, Bleſſed be thy name.

May my People and thy Church be happy, if not by me, yet without me.

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26. *Upon the Armies Surpriſall of the* KING *at* Holmdby, *and the enſuing diſtractions in the two Houſes, the Army, and the City.*

WHat part God will have me now to act or ſuffer in this new and ſtrange ſcene of affaires, I am not much ſolicitous; ſome little

ſe practiſe will ſerve that man, who onely ſeeks to repreſent a part of honeſty and honour.

This ſurprize of Me tells the world, that a KING cannot be ſo low, but He is conſiderable; adding weight to that Party where he appeares.

This motion, like others of the Times, ſeems excentrique and irregular, yet not well to be reſiſted or quieted: better ſwim down ſuch a ſtream, than in vain to ſtrive againſt it.

Theſe are but the ſtruglings of thoſe twins, which lately one womb encloſed, the younger ſtriving to prevaile againſt the elder; what the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now ſeek to catch for themſelves.

So impoſſible is it for lines to be drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other, ſo much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of union.

That the Builders of *Babel* ſhould from diviſion fall to confuſion, is no wonder; but for thoſe that pretend to build *Jeruſalem*, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill

omen;

omen; and ſounds too like the fury of thoſe Zealots, whoſe inteſtine bitterneſſe and diviſions were the greateſt occaſion of the laſt fatall deſtruction of that City.

Well may I change my Keepers and Priſon, but not my captive condition, onely with this hope of bettering, that thoſe who are ſo much profeſſed Patrons for the Peoples Liberties, cannot be utterly againſt the Liberty of their KING; what they demand for their own Conſciences, they cannot in Reaſon deny to Mine.

In this they ſeem more ingenuous, than the Presbyterian rigour, who, ſometimes, complaining of exacting their conformity to laws; are become the greateſt Exactors of other mens ſubmiſſion to their novell injunctions, before they are ſtamped with the Authority of Lawes, which they cannot well have without My conſent.

'Tis a great argument, that the Independents think themſelves manumitted from their Rivals ſervice, in that they carry on a buſineſſe of ſuch conſequence, as the aſſuming My Perſon into the Armies cuſtody, without any Commiſſion, but that of their own

own will and power. Such as will thus adventure on a King, muſt not bee thought over-modeſt, or timerous to carry on any deſign they have a mind to.

Their next motion menaces, and ſcares both the two Houſes and the City: which ſoon after acting over againe that former part of tumultuary motions, (never queſtioned, puniſhed, or repented) muſt now ſuffer for both; and ſee their former ſinne in the glaſſe of the preſent terrours and diſtractions.

No man is ſo blind as not to ſee herein the hand of divine juſtice; they that by Tumults firſt occaſioned the raiſing of Armies, muſt now be chaſtened by their own Army for new tumults.

So hardly can men be content with one ſin, but adde ſin to ſin, till the latter puniſh the former; ſuch as were content to ſee Me and many Members of both Houſes driven away by the firſt unſuppreſſed Tumults, are now forced to fly to an Army, or defend themſelves againſt them.

But who can unfold the riddle of ſome mens juſtice? the Members of both Houſes who

who at first withdrew, (as My self was forced to doe) from the rudeneſſe of the Tumults, were counted Deſertors, and outed of their Places in Parliament.

Such as ſtayed then, and enjoyed the benefit of the Tumults, were aſſerted for the onely Parliament-men: now the Fliers from, and Forſakers of their Places, carry the Parliamentary power along with them; complain highly againſt the Tumults, and vindicate themſelves by an Army: ſuch as remained and kept their ſtations, are looked upon as Abettors of tumultuary, inſolencies, and Betrayers of the freedome and honour of Parliament.

Thus is Power above all Rule, Order, and Law; where men look more to preſent Advantages than their Conſciences, and the unchangeable rules of Juſtice; while they are Judges of others, they are forced to condemn themſelves.

Now the plea againſt Tumults holds good, the authors and abettors of them are guilty of prodigious inſolencies; when as before, they were counted as friends and neceſſary Aſſiſtants.

I see Vengeance pursues and overtakes (as the Mice and Rats are said to have done a Bishop in *Germany*) them that thought to have escaped and fortified themselves most impregnably against it, both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom the Laws cannot, God will punish, by their own crimes and hands.

I cannot but observe this divine justice, yet with sorrow and pity; for, I alwayes wished so well to Parliament and City, that I was sorry to see them do, or suffer, any thing unworthy such great and considerable bodies in this Kingdome.

I was glad to see them onely scared and humbled, not broken by that shaking: I never had so ill a thought of those Cities as to despair of their Loyalty to Me; which mistakes might eclipse, but I never believed malice had quite put out.

I pray God the storm be yet wholly passed over them; upon whom I look, as Christ did sometime over *Ierusalem*, as objects of my prayers and teares, with compassionate griefe, foreseeing those severer scatterings which will certainly befall such as wantonly refuse to be gathered to their duty: fatall

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blindneſſe frequently attending and puniſhing wilfulneſſe, ſo that men ſhall not bee able at laſt to prevent their ſorrows who would not timely repent of their ſins; nor ſhall they be ſuffered to enjoy the comforts, who ſecurely neglect the counſels belonging to their peace. They will find that Brethren in iniquity are not farre from becomming inſolent enemies, there being nothing harder then to keep ill men long in one mind.

Nor is it poſſible to gaine a faire period for thoſe notions, which goe rather in a round and circle of fanſie, then in a right line of reaſon tending to the Law, the only center of publique conſiſtency; whither I pray God at laſt bring all ſides.

Which will eaſily be done, when we ſhall fully ſee how much more happy we are, to be ſubject to the knowne Lawes, than to the various wils of any men, ſeem they never ſo plauſible at firſt.

Vulgar compliance with any illegall and extravagant waies, like violent motions in nature, ſoon growes weary of it ſelfe, and ends in a refractory ſullenneſſe: Peoples rebounds are oft in their faces, who firſt put

put them upon thoſe violent ſtrokes.

For the Army (which is ſo far excuſable, as they act according to Souldiers principles, and intereſts, demanding Pay and Indempnity) I think it neceſſary, in order to the publike peace, that they ſhould be ſatisfied, as farre as is juſt; no man being more prone to conſider them than My ſelf, though they have fought againſt Me, yet I cannot but ſo farre eſteem that valour and gallantry they have ſometime ſhewed, as to wiſh I may never want ſuch men to maintaine My ſelf, My Laws, and My Kingdoms, in ſuch a peace, as wherein they may enjoy their ſhare and proportion as much as any men.

But thou, O Lord, who art perfect Vnity in a ſacred Trinity, in mercy behold thoſe, whom thy Iuſtice hath divided.

Deliver Me from the ſtrivings of My People, and make Me to ſee how much they need My prayers and pity, who agreed to fight againſt me, and yet are now ready to fight againſt one another; to the continuance of My Kingdomes diſtraction.

Diſcover to all ſides the waies of peace, from which they have ſwarved: which conſiſts not in

the divided wills of Parties, but in the joint and due obſervation of the Lawes.

Make Me willing to go whither thou wilt lead Me by thy Providence: and bee thou ever with Me, that I may ſee thy conſtancy in the worlds variety and changes.

Make Me even ſuch as thou wouldſt have Me, that I may at laſt enjoy that ſafety and tranquillity which thou alone canſt give Me.

Divert, I pray thee, O Lord, thy heavy wrath juſtly hanging over thoſe populous Cities, whoſe plenty is prone to adde fewell to their luxury, their wealth to make them wanton, their multitudes tempting them to ſecurity, and their ſecurity expoſing them to unexpected miſeries.

Give them eyes to ſee, hearts to conſider, wills to embrace, and courage to act thoſe things which belong to thy glory and the publick peace, leſt their calamity come upon them as an armed man.

Teach them, that they cannot want enemies who abound in ſinne, nor ſhall they be long undiſcerned and un deſtroyed, who with a high hand perſiſting to fight againſt thee and the cleare convictions of their owne conſciences, fight more againſt themſelves, than ever they did againſt Me.

Their

Their ſinnes expoſing them to thy Iuſtice, their riches to others injuries, their number to Tumults, and their Tumults to confuſion.

Though they have with much forwardneſſe helped to deſtroy Me, yet let not my fall be their ruine.

Let Me not ſo much conſider, either what they have done, or I have ſuffered, (chiefly at firſt by them) as to forget to imitate My crucified Redeemer, to plead their ignorance for their pardon; and in My dying extremities to pray to thee O Father to forgive them, for they knew not what they did.

The teares they have denied Me in My ſaddeſt condition, give them grace to beſtow upon themſelves, who the leſſe they weep for Me, the more cauſe they have to weep for themſelves.

O let not My blood be upon them and their Children, whom the fraud and faction of ſome not the malice of all, have excited to crucifie Me.

But thou, O Lord, canſt, and wilt (as thou didſt My Redeemer) both exalt and perfect Me by my ſufferings, which have more in them of thy mercies, than of mans cruelty, or thy own juſtice.

27. *To the Prince of* VVales.

SOn, if these Papers, with some others, wherein I have set down the private reflections of My Conscience, and My most impartiall thoughts, touching the chiefe passages, which have been most remarkable, or disputed in My late troubles, come to your hands, to whom they are chiefly designed; they may be so far usefull to you, as to state your judgement aright in what hath passed; whereof, a pious is the best use can bee made: and they may also give you some directions, how to remedy the present distempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come.

It is some kind of deceiving and lessening the injury of My long restraint, when I find My leisure and solitude have produced something worthy of My self, and usefull to you; That neither you, nor any other, may hereafter measure My Cause by the Successe, nor My Iudgement of things by my misfortunes; which I count the greater by farre, because they have so farre lighted upon you, and

and ſome others, whom I have moſt cauſe to love as well as My ſelfe, and of whoſe unmerited ſufferings I have a greater ſenſe then of Mine own.

But this advantage of wiſedom you have above moſt Princes; that you have begun, and now ſpent ſome yeares of diſcretion, in the experience of troubles, and exerciſe of patience, wherein Piety, and all Vertues, both Morall and Politicall, are commonly better planted to a thriving (as trees ſet in winter) then in the warmth, and ſerenity of times; or amidſt thoſe delights, which uſually attend Princes Courts in times of peace and plenty; which are prone, either to root up all plants of true Vertue and Honour; or to bee contented onely with ſome leaves, and withering formalities of them, without any reall fruits, ſuch as tend to the Publick good; for which Princes ſhould alwayes remember they are borne and by providence deſigned.

The evidence of which different education the holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of *David* and *Rehoboam*: The one prepared, by many afflictions for a flouriſhing Kingdom, the other ſoſtned by the un-

unparalel'd proſperity of *Solomons* Court; and ſo corrupted to the great diminution, both of Peace, Honour, and Kingdom, by thoſe flatteries, which are as unſeparable from proſperous Princes, as Flies are from fruit in ſummer; whom adverſity, like cold weather, drives away.

I had rather you ſhould be *Charles le Bon*, then *le Grand*, good, then great: I hope God hath deſigned you to be both, having ſo early put you into that exerciſe of his Graces, and Gifts beſtowed upon you, which may beſt weed out all vicious inclinations, and diſpoſe you to thoſe Princely endowments and employments, which will moſt gain the love, and intend the welfare of thoſe, over whom God ſhall place you

With God I would have you begin and end, who is King of Kings; the Soveraign diſpoſer of the Kingdomes of the World, who pulleth downe one, and ſetteth up another.

The beſt Government, and higheſt Soveraignty you can attain to is, to be ſubject to him, that the Scepter of his Word and Spirit may rule in your heart.

The true glory of Princes conſiſts in advancing

vancing Gods Glory in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Churches good; Alſo in the diſpenſation of civill Power, with Iuſtice and Honour to the publick Peace.

Piety will make you proſperous; at leaſt it will keep you from being miſerable; nor is he much a loſer, that loſeth all, yet ſaveth his own ſoule at laſt.

To which center of true Happineſſe God, I truſt, hath and will graciouſly direct all theſe black lines of affliction, which he hath been pleaſed to draw on me, and by which he hath (I hope) drawn me nearer to himſelfe. You have already taſted of that cup whereof I have liberally drank, which I look upon as Gods Phyſick, having that in healthfulneſſe which it wants in pleaſure.

Above all, I would have you, as I hope you are already; wel-grounded and ſetled in your Religion: The beſt profeſſion of which, I have ever eſteemed that of the Church of *England*, in which you have been educated: yet I would have your own Iudgement and Reaſon now ſeal to that ſacred bond which education hath written, that it maybe judiciouſly your own Religion, & not other mens cuſtom or tradition, which you profeſſe.

In

In this I charge you to perſevere, as comming neareſt to Gods Word for Doctrine, and to the primitive examples for Government, with ſome little amendment, which I have otherwhere expreſſed, and often offered though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not bee more neceſſary for your ſoules then your Kingdoms peace, when God ſhall bring you to them.

For I have obſerved, that the Devil of Rebellion, doth commonly turn himſelf into an Angel of Reformation; and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights: When ſome mens Conſciences accuſe them for Sedition and Faction, they ſtop its mouth with the name and noiſe of Religion; when Piety pleads for peace and patience, they cry out Zeale.

So that unleſſe in this point You be well ſetled, you ſhall never want temptations to deſtroy you and yours, under pretenſions of reforming matters of Religion; for that ſeemes, even to worſt men, as the beſt and moſt auſpicious beginning of their worſt deſignes.

Where, beſides the Novelty which is taking enough with the Vulgar, every one hath

an

in affectation, by ſeeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion, to bee thought zealous; hoping to cover thoſe irreligious deformities, whereto they are conſcious by a ſeverity of cenſuring other mens opinions or actions.

. Take heed of abetting any Factions, or applying to any publick Diſcriminations in matters of Religion, contrary to what is in you judgement, and the Church well ſetled; your partiall adhering, as head, to any one ſide, gaines you not ſo great advantages in ſome mens hearts (who are prone to be of their Kings Religion) as it loſeth you in others; who think themſelves, and their profeſſion firſt deſpiſed, then perſecuted by you: Take ſuch a courſe as may either with calmnes and charity quite remove the ſeeming differences and offences by impartiality, or ſo order affaires in point of Power, that you ſhall not need to feare or flatter any Faction. For if ever you ſtand in need of them, or muſt ſtand to their courteſie, you are undone: The Serpent will devoure the Dove: you may never expect leſſe of loyalty, juſtice, or humanity, than from thoſe, who engage into religious Rebellion;

Their

Their intereſt is alwaies made Gods; under the colours of Piety, ambicious Policies march, not only with greateſt ſecurity, but applauſe, as to the populacy; you may hear from them *Iacob's* voice, but you ſhall feele they have *Eſau's* hands.

Nothing ſeemed leſſe conſiderable than the Presbyterian Faction in *England*, for many yeares: ſo compliant they were to publique order, nor indeed was their Party great either in Church, or State, as to mens judgements: But as ſoone as diſcontents drave men into Sidings (as ill humours fall to the diſaffected part, which cauſes inflamations) ſo did all, at firſt, who affected any novelties, adhere to that Side, as the moſt remarkable and ſpecious note of difference (then) in point of Religion.

All the leſſer Factions at firſt were officious Servants to Presbytery their great Maſter: till time and military ſucceſſe diſcovering to each their peculiar advantages, invited them to part ſtakes, and leaving the joynt ſtock of uniform Religion, pretended each to drive for their Party the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking and undoing not only of the Church and State, but

but even of Presbytery it self, which seemed and hoped at first to have ingrossed all.

Let nothing seem little or despicable to you in matters which concern Religion and the Churches peace, so as to neglect a speedy reforming and effectuall suppressing Errours and Schismes, which seem at first but as a hand-bredth, by seditious Spirits, as by strong windes, are soon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When you have done justice to God, your own soule, and his Church, in the profession and preservation both of truth and unity in Religion: the next main hinge on which your prosperity will depend, and move, is, that of civil justice, wherein the setled Laws of these Kingdoms, to which you are rightly Heire, are the most excellent rules you can govern by; w^h by an admirable temperament give very much to Subjects industry, liberty, & happinesse; and yet reserve enough to the Majesty and prerogative of any King, who ownes his People as Subjects, not as Slaves; whose subjection, as it preserves their property, peace, and safety, so it will never diminish your Rights, nor their ingenuous liberties; which consists in the enjoyment

ment of the fruits of their induſtry and the benefit of thoſe Lawes to which themſelves have conſented.

Never charge your Head with ſuch a Crowne, as ſhall by its heavineſſe oppreſſe the whole body, the weaknes of whoſe parts cannot return any thing of ſtrength, honour, or ſafety, to the Head, but a neceſſary debilitation and ruine.

Your Prerogative is beſt ſhewed, and exerciſed in remitting, rather than exacting the rigor of the Lawes; there being nothing worſe than legall Tyranny.

In theſe two points, the preſervation of eſtabliſhed Religion, and Laws, I may (without vanity) turn the reproach of My ſufferings, as to the worlds cenſure, into the honour of a kind of Martyrdom, as to the teſtimony of My owne Conſcience: The Troublers of My Kingdomes have nothing elſe to object againſt Me but this, That I preferre Religion, and Laws eſtabliſhed before thoſe alterations they propounded.

And ſo indeed I do, and ever ſhall, til I am convinced by better Arguments than what hitherto have been chiefly uſed towards Me, Tumults, Armies, and Priſons.

I cannot yet learn that leſſon, nor I hope ever will you, That it is ſafe for a King to gratifie any Faction with the perturbation of the Laws. in which is wrapt up the publique Intereſt, and the good of the Community.

How God will deale with Me, as to the removal of theſe preſſures, and indignities, which his juſtice by the very unjuſt hands of ſome of My Subjects, hath been pleaſed to lay upon Me, I cannot tell: nor am I ſolicitous what wrong I ſuffer from men, while I retaine in My ſoule, what I believe is right before God.

I have offered all for Reformation and Safety, that in Reaſon, Honour, and Conſcience, I can; reſerving only what I cannot conſent unto, without an irreparable injury to My own Soule, the Church, and My People, and to You alſo, as the next undoubted Heire of My Kingdomes.

To which if the divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are inſuperable, ſhall in his due time after My deceaſe bring You, as I hope he will; My counſell and charge to You, is, That You ſeriouſly conſider the former, reall, or objected miſcarriages, which

which might occaſion My troubles, that You may avoid them.

Never repoſe ſo much upon any mans ſingle counſel, fidelity, and diſcretion, in managing affairs of the firſt magnitude, (that is, matters of Religion and Iuſtice) as to create in Your ſelf, or others, a diffidence of Your own judgment, which is likely to be alwaies more conſtant and impartial to the intereſts of your Crowne and Kingdome than any mans.

Next, beware of exaſperating any Factions by the croſneſſe, and aſperity of ſome mens paſſions, humors, or private opinions, imployed by You grounded only upon the differences in leſſer matters, which are but the skirts and ſuburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivence and Chriſtian toleration often diſſipates their ſtrength, whom rougher oppoſition fortifies: and puts the deſpiſed and oppreſſed Party, into ſuch Combinations, as may moſt enable them to get a full revenge on thoſe they count their perſecutors, who are commonly aſſiſted by that vulgar commiſeration, which attends all, that are ſaid to ſuffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided

Provided the differences amount not to an insolent oppoſition of Lawes, and Government, or Religion eſtabliſhed, as to the eſſentials of them, ſuch motions and minings are intolerable.

Alwaies keep up ſolid piety, and thoſe fundamentall Truths (which mend both hearts and lives of men) with impartiall favour and juſtice.

Take heed that outward circumſtances and formalities of Religion devoure not all, or the beſt incouragements of learning, induſtry, and piety; but with an equall eye, and impartiall hand, diſtribute favours and rewards to all men, as you find them for their reall goodneſſe both in abilities and fidelity worthy and capable of them.

This will be ſure to gain You the hearts of the beſt, and the moſt too; who, though they be not good themſelves, yet are glad to ſee the ſeverer waies of virtue at any time ſweetned by temporall rewards.

I have, you ſee, conflicted with different & oppoſite Factions; (for ſo I muſt needs call and count all thoſe, that act not in any conformity to the Laws eſtabliſhed, in Church and State) no ſooner have they by force

ſubdued what they counted their Common Enemy, (that is, all thoſe that adhered to the Laws, and to Me) and are ſecured from that feare, but they are divided to ſo high a rivalry, as ſets them more at defiance againſt each other, than againſt their firſt Antagoniſts.

Time will diſpute all factions, when once the rough hornes of private mens covetous and ambitious deſignes, ſhall diſcover themſelves; which were at firſt wrapt up and hidden under the ſoft and ſmooth pretenſions of Religion, Reformation, and Liberty. As the Wolfe is not leſſe cruell, ſo he will be more juſtly hated, when he ſhall appeare no better than a Wolf under Sheeps cloathing.

But as for the ſeduced Train of the Vulgar, who in their ſimplicity follow thoſe diſguiſes; My charge and counſell to You, is, That as You need no palliations for any deſignes, (as other men) ſo that you ſtudy really to exceed (in true and conſtant demonſtrations of goodneſſe, piety, and virtue, towards the People) even all thoſe men, that make the greateſt noiſe and oſtentations of Religion,: ſo You ſhall neither feare any detection,

detection, (as they doe, who have but the face and mask of goodneſſe) nor ſhall You fruſtrate the juſt expectations of Your People; who cannot in Reaſon promiſe themſelves ſo much good from any Subjects novelties, as from the vertuous conſtancy of their King.

When theſe mountains of congealed factions ſhall by the ſunſhine of Gods mercy, and the ſplendor of Your virtues be thawed and diſſipated; and the abuſed Vulgar ſhall have learned, that none are greater Oppreſſours of their Eſtates, Liberties, and Conſciences, than thoſe men, that entitle themſelves, The Patrones and Vindicators of them, onely to uſurp power over them; Let then no paſſion betray You to any ſtudy of revenge upon thoſe, whoſe own ſinn and folly will ſufficiently puniſh them in due time.

But as ſoone as the forked arrow of factious emulations is drawn out, uſe all Princely arts, and clemency to heal the wounds; that the ſmart of the cure may not equall the anguiſh of the hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indempnity, and Oblivion, to ſo great a latitude, as may in-

clude all, that can but ſuſpect themſelves to be any way obnoxious to the Laws; and which might ſerve to exclude all future jelouſies and inſecurities.

I would have You alwaies propenſe to the ſame way, when ever it ſhall be deſired and accepted, let it be granted, not onely as an act of State-policy and neceſſity, but of Chriſtian charity and choiſe.

It is all I have now left Me, a power to forgive thoſe, that have deprived Me of all; and I thank God I have a heart to doe it; and joy as much in this grace, which God hath given me, as in all my former enjoyments: for this is a greater argument of Gods love to Me, then any proſperity can be.

Be confident, (as I am) that the moſt of all ſides, who have done amiſſe, have done ſo, not out of malice, but miſ-information, or miſ-apprehenſion of things.

None will be more loyall and faithfull to Me and You, then thoſe Subjects, who ſenſible of their Errours, and our Injuries, will feele in their owne Soules moſt vehement motives to repentance; and earneſt deſires to make ſome reparations for their former defects.

As

As Your quality ſets You beyond any Duell with any Subject; ſo the nobleneſſe of Your mind muſt raiſe You above the meditating any revenge, or executing Your anger upon the many.

The more conſcious You ſhall be to Your owne merits, upon Your People, the more prone You will be to expect all love & loyalty from them: & to inflict no puniſhment upon them for former miſcarriages; You will have more inward complacency in pardoning one, then in puniſhing a thouſand.

This I write to You, not deſpairing of Gods mercy, and my Subjects affections towards You: both which, I hope You will ſtudy to deſerve, yet We cannot merit of God, but by his owne mercy.

If God ſhall ſee fit to reſtore Me, and You after Me, to thoſe enjoyments, which the Laws have aſſigned to Vs; and no Subjects without an high degree of guilt and ſin can deveſt Vs of, then may I have better opportunity, when I ſhall be ſo happy to ſee You in peace, to let You more fully underſtand the things that belong to Gods glory, Your owne honour, and the Kingdomes peace.

But if You never ſee My face againe, and God will have Me buried in ſuch a barbarous Impriſonment and obſcurity, (which the perfecting ſome mens deſignes require) wherein few hearts that love me are permitted to exchange a word, or a look with Me; I do require and entreat you as your Father, and your KING, that You never ſuffer Your heart to receive the leaſt check againſt, or diſaffection from the true Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*,

I tell You I have tried it, and after much ſearch, and many diſputes, have concluded it to be the beſt in the world; not onely in the Community, as Chriſtian, but alſo in the ſpeciall notion, as Reformed; keeping the middle way between the pomp of ſuperſtitious Tyranny, and the meanneſſe of fantaſtique Anarchy.

Not but that (the draught being excellent as to the main, both for Doctrine and Government, in the Church of *England*) ſome lines, as in very good figures, may happily need ſome ſweeting, or poliſhing; which might have eaſily been done by a ſafe and gentle hand: if ſome mens precipitancy had not violently demanded ſuch rude alterations,

ons, as would have quite destroyed all the beauty and proportions of the whole.

The scandall of the late Troubles, which some may object, and urge to You against the Protestant Religion established in *England*, is easily answered to them, or Your own thoughts in this, That scarce any one who hath been a Beginner, or an active Prosecutor of this late War against the Church the Lawes, and Me, either was, or is a true Lover, Embracer, or Practiser of the Protestant Religion, established in *England*: which neither gives such rules, nor ever before set such examples.

'Tis true, some heretofore had the boldnes to present threatning Petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the same Faction (but of worse Spirits) have now put in execution: but let not counterfeit and disorderly Zeal abate your value and esteem of true piety, both of them are to be known by their fruits; the sweetnesse of the Wine and Fig-tree is not to be despised, though the Brambles and Thornes should pretend to beare Figs and Grapes, thereby to rule over the Trees.

Nor would I have You to entertain any

averſation, or diſlike of Parliaments, which in their right conſtitution with Freedome and Honour, will never injure or diminiſh Your greatneſſe, but will rather be as interchangings of love, loyalty, and confidence, between a Prince, and his People.

Nor would the events of this black Parliament have been other than ſuch (however much biaſſed by factions in the Elections) if it had been preſerved from the inſolencies of popular dictates and tumultuary impreſſions: The ſad effects of which will no doubt, make all Parliaments after this more cautious to preſerve that Freedom, and Honour, which belongs to ſuch Aſſemblies (when once they have fully ſhaken off this yoke of Vulgar encroachment) ſince the publique intereſt conſiſts in the mutuall and common good both of Prince and People.

Nothing can be more happy for all, than in fair, grave, and honourable waies to contribute their Counſels in Common, enacting all things by publique conſent; without Tyranny or Tumults. We muſt not ſtarve our ſelves, becauſe ſome men have ſurfeited of wholeſome food.

And if neither I, nor You, be ever reſtored

to

to Our Rights, but God in his ſevereſt juſtice, will puniſh my Subjects with continuance in their ſinne, and ſuffer them to be deluded with the proſperity of their wickedneſſe: I hope God will give Me, and You, that grace, which will teach and enable Vs, to want, as well as to weare a Crown, which is not worth taking up, or enjoying upon ſordid, diſhonourable, and irreligious tearms.

Keepe You to true principles of piety, vertue, and honour, You ſhall never want a Kingdome.

A principall point of Your honour will conſiſt in Your deferring all reſpect, love, and protection to Your Mother, My Wife, who hath many waies deſerved well of Me, and chiefly in this, that (having been a means to bleſſe Me with ſo many hopeful Children: (all which, with their Mother, I recommend to Your love, and care) She hath been content with incomparable magnanimity and patience to ſuffer both for, and with Me, and You.

My prayer to God Almighty is, (whatever becomes Me, who am, I thank God, wrapt up and fortified in My owne Innocency,

and

and his grace) that he would be pleased to make You an Anchor, or Harbour rather, to these tossed and weather beaten Kingdoms; a Repairer by Your wisedom, justice, piety, and valour, of what, the folly and wickedness of some men have so farre ruined, as to leave nothing entire in Church or State; to the Crown, the Nobility, the Clergy, or the Commons; either as to Laws, Liberties, Estates, Order, Honour, Conscience, or Lives.

When they have destroyed Me, (for I know not how far God may permit the malice and cruelty of My Enemies to proceed, and such apprehensions some mens words and actions have already given Me) as I doubt not but My bloud will cry aloud for vengeance to heaven; so I beseech God not to poure out his wrath upon the generality of the People, who have either deserted Me, or engaged against Me, through the artifice and hypocrisie of their Leaders, whose inward horrour will be their first Tormenter, nor will they escape exemplary judgements.

For those that loved Me, I pray God, they may have no misse of Me, when I am gone;

gone; ſo much I wiſh and hope, that all good Subjects may bee ſatisfieed with the bleſſings of Your preſence and virtues.

For thoſe that repent of any defects in their duty towards Me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Chriſtian KING, ſo I believe You will find them truly Zealous, to repay with intereſt that loyalty and love to You, which was due to Me.

In ſumme, what good I intended, doe You perform; when God ſhall give You power: much good I have offered, more I purpoſed to Church and State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will ſoone vaniſh, and the Vizards will fall off apace: This maske of Religion on the face of Rebellion (for ſo it now plainly appears, ſince My Reſtraint and cruell uſage, that they ſought not for Me, as was pretended) will not long ſerve o hide ſome mens deformities.

Happy times, I hope, attend You, wherein Your Subjects (by their miſeries) will have learned, That Religion to their God, and Loyalty to their King, cannot bee parted without both their ſin and their infelicity.

I pray God bleſſe You, and eſtabliſh your Kingdoms

Kingdoms in righteonſneſſe, Your Soule in true Religion, and Your honour in the love of God and your People.

And if God will have diſloyalty perfected by My deſtruction; let My memory ever, with My name, live in you; as of Your Father, that loves You: and once a KING of three flouriſhing Kingdoms; whom God thought fit to honour, not onely with the Scepter aud Government of them, but alſo with the ſuffering many indignities, and an untimely death for them; while I ſtudied to preſerve the rights of the Church, the power of the Laws, the honour of My Crowne, the priviledge of Parliaments, the liberties of My People, and My owne Conſcience, which, I thank God, is dearer to Me than a thouſand Kingdoms.

I know God can, I hope he yet wil reſtore Me to My Rights. I cannot deſpair either of his mercy, or of My Peoples love and pity.

At worſt, I truſt I ſhall but go before You to a better Kingdom, which God hath prepared for Me, and Me for it, through My Saviour Ieſus Chriſt, to whoſe mercies I commend You and all Mine.

Farewell, till We meet, if not on Earth, yet in Heaven.

Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addreſſes, and His Majesties *cloſer Impriſonment in* Carisbrooke-Caſtle.

AS I have leiſure enough, ſo I have cauſe more than enough, to meditate upon, and prepare for My death: for I know, there are but few ſteps between the Priſons and Graves of Princes.

It is Gods indulgence, which gives Me the ſpace, but Mans cruelty, that gives Me the ſad occaſions for theſe thoughts.

For, beſides the common burthen of mortality, which lies upon Me, as a Man, I now beare the heavy load of other mens ambitions, feares, jealouſies, and cruell paſſions, whoſe envy or emnity againſt Me makes their own lifes ſeem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of Mine.

I thank God, My proſperity made Me not wholly a Stranger to the contemplation of mortality.

Thoſe

Theſe are never unſeaſonable, ſince this is alwaies uncertain: Death being an eclipſe, which oft happeneth as well in cleare, as cloudy daies.

But My now long and ſharp adverſity hath ſo reconciled in Me thoſe naturall Antipathies between Life and Death, which are in all men, that I thank God, the common terrors of it are diſpelled; and the ſpeciall horror of it, as to My particular, much allayed: for, although My death at preſent may juſtly bee repreſented to Me with all thoſe terrible aggravations, which the policy of cruell and implacable enemies can put upon it, (affaires being drawn to the very dregs of malice) yet I bleſſe God, I can look upon all thoſe ſtings, as unpoyſonous, though ſharp: ſince My Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or given Me the antidote of his Death againſt them; which as to the immaturity, injuſtice, ſhame, ſcorne, and cruelty of it, exceeded whatever I can feare.

Indeed, I never did finde ſo much, the life of Religion, the feaſt of a good Conſcience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integrity and conſtancy, as ſince I came to

theſe

theſe cloſer conflicts with the thoughts of Death.

I am not ſo old, as to be weary of life; nor (I hope) ſo bad, as to be either afraid to die, or aſhamed to live: true, I am ſo afflicted, as might make Me ſometimes even deſire to die; if I did not conſider, That it is the greateſt glory of a Chriſtians life to *die daily*, in conquering by a lively faith, and patient hopes of a better life, thoſe partiall and quotidian deaths, which kill us (as it were) by piece-meales, and make us overlive our owne fates: while We are deprived of health, honour, liberty, power, credit, ſafety, or eſtate; and thoſe other comforts of deareſt relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though, as a KING, I think My ſelfe to live in nothing temporall ſo much, as in the love and good-will of My People: for which, as I have ſuffered many deaths, ſo I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: notwithſtanding, My Enemies have uſed all the poyſon of falſity and violence of hoſtility to deſtroy, firſt the Love and Loyalty, which is in My Subjects: and then all that content of life in Me, which from

from theſe I chiefely enjoyed.

Indeed, they have left Me but little of life, and onely the husk and ſhell (as it were) which their further malice and cruelty can take from me, having bereaved Me of all thoſe worldly comforts, for which life it ſelf ſeems deſirable to men.

But, O my Soule! think not that life too long, or tedious, wherein God gives thee any opportunities, if not to do, yet to ſuffer with ſuch Chriſtian patience and magnanimitie in a good Cauſe, as are the greateſt honour of our lives, and the beſt improvement of our deaths.

I know that in point of true Chriſtian valour, it argues puſillanimitie to deſire to die out of wearineſſe of life; and a want of that heroick greatneſſe of ſpirit which becomes a Chriſtian in the patient and generous ſuſtaining thoſe afflictions, which as ſhadowes neceſſarily attend us, while we are in this body; and which are leſſened or inlarged as the Sun of our proſperity moves higher, or lower: whoſe totall abſence is beſt recompenſed with the Dew of Heaven.

The aſſaults of affliction may be terrible, like *Sampſon's* Lion, but they yield much ſweet-

ſweetneſſe to thoſe, that dare to encounter and overcome them; who know how to overlive the witherings of their Gourds without diſcontent and peeviſhneſſe, while they may yet converſe with God.

That I muſt die as a man, is certain; that I may die a King, by the hands of My own Subjects, a violent, ſodain, and barbarous death; in the ſtrength of My years: in the midſt of My Kingdomes: My Friends and loving Subjects being helpleſſe Spectators, My Enemies inſolent Revilers and Triumphers over Me, living, dying, and dead, is ſo probable in humane reaſon, that God hath taught me not to hope otherwiſe, as to mans cruelty; however I deſpaire not of Gods infinite mercy.

I know my life is the object of the Devils and wicked mens malice: but yet under Gods ſole cuſtody and diſpoſall: Whom I do not think to flatter for longer life by ſeeming prepared to die: but I humbly deſire to depend upon him, and to ſubmit to his will both in life and death, in what order ſoever he is pleaſed to lay them out to Me. I confeſſe it is not eaſie for me to contend with thoſe many horrours of death, where-

with God ſuffers Me to be tempted: which are equally horrid, either in the ſuddenneſſe of a barbarous Aſſaſination; or in thoſe greater formalities, whereby my Enemies (being more ſolemnly cruell) will, it may be, ſeek to adde (as thoſe did, who Crucified Chriſt) the mockery of Juſtice, to the cruelty of malice: That I may bee deſtroyed, as with greater pomp and artifice, ſo with leſſe pity: It will be but a neceſſary policy to make My death appear as an Act of Juſtice, done by Subjects upon their Soveraigne; who know that no Law of God or Man inveſts them with any power of Judicature without Me, much leſſe againſt Me: and who, being ſworn and bound by all that is ſacred before God and Man, to endeavour My preſervation, muſt pretend Iuſtice to cover their Perjury.

It is, indeed, a ſad fate for any man to have his Enemies to be Accuſers, Parties, and judges; but moſt deſperat, when this is acted by the inſolence of Subjects againſt their Soveraign: wherin thoſe, who have had the chiefeſt hand, and are moſt guilty of contriving the publick Troubles, muſt by ſhedding my bloud ſeem to waſh their own hands of

that innocent bloud, whereof they are now moſt evidently guilty before God and man; and I believe in their own conſciences too, while they carried on unreaſonable demands, firſt by Tumults, after by Armies. Nothing makes mean ſpirits more cowardly cruell in managing their uſurped power againſt their lawfull Superiours, than this, the *Guilt of their unjuſt Vſurpation*; notwithſtanding those ſpecious and popular pretenſions of Juſtice againſt Delinquents, applied onely to diſguiſe at firſt the monſtrouſneſſe of their deſignes, who deſpaired, indeed of poſſeſſing the power and profits of the Vineyard, till the Heir, whoſe right it is, be caſt out and ſlain.

With them, My greateſt fault muſt be, that I would not either deſtroy My ſelfe with the Church and State by my Word, or not ſuffer them to do it unreſiſted by the Sword: whoſe covetous ambition no Conceſſions of mine could ever yet, either ſatisfie, or abate.

Nor is it likely they will ever think, that Kingdom of brambles, which ſome men ſeek to erect (at once, weak, ſharp, and fruitleſſe, either in God or man) is like to thrive till

watered with the Royall blood of thoſe, whoſe right the Kingdome is.

Well, Gods will be done, I doubt not but My Innocency will find him both My Protector, and My Advocate, who is My onely Judge, whom I owne as King of Kings, not onely for the eminency of his power and majeſty above them: but alſo for that ſingular care and protection, which he hath over them: who knowes them to be expoſed to as many dangers (being the greateſt Patrons of Law, Iuſtice, Order, and Religion on earth) as there be either Men or Devils, which love confuſion.

Nor will he ſuffer thoſe men long to proſper in their *Babel*, who build it with the bones, and cement it with the blood of their Kings.

I am confident they will find Avengers of My death among themſelves: the injuries I have ſuſtained from them ſhall be firſt puniſhed by them, who agreed in nothing ſo much as in oppoſing Me.

Their impatience to beare the loud cry of My bloud, ſhall make them think no way better to expiate it, than by ſhedding theirs who with them, moſt thirſted after Mine.

The

The ſad confuſions following My deſtruction, are already preſaged and confirmed to Me by thoſe I have lived to ſee ſince My troubles; in which, God alone (who onely could) hath many waies pleaded My cauſe; not ſuffering them to go unpuniſhed, whoſe confederacy in ſinne was their onely ſecurity: who have cauſe to feare that God will both further divide, and by mutuall vengeance, afterward deſtroy them.

My greateſt conqueſt of Death is from the power and love of Chriſt, who hath ſwallow'd up death in the victory of his Reſurrection, and the glory of his Aſcention.

My next comfort is, that he gives Me not onely the honour to imitate his example in ſuffering for righteouſneſſe ſake, (though obſcured by the fouleſt charges of Tyranny and Injuſtice) but alſo that charity, which is the nobleſt revenge upon, and victory over My Deſtroyers: By which, I thank God, I can both forgive them, and pray for them, that God would not impute My bloud to them further then to convince them, what need they have of Chriſts bloud to waſh their ſouls from the guilt of ſhedding Mine.

At preſent, the will of My Enemies ſeems

to be their onely rule, their power the measure, and their ſucceſſe the Exactor, of what they pleaſe to call Juſtice: while they flatter themſelves with the fancy of their own ſafety by My danger, and the ſecurity of their own lives and deſignes by My Death: forgetting, that as the greateſt temptations to ſinne are wrapped up in ſeeming proſperities, ſo the ſevereſt vengeances of God are then moſt accompliſhed, when men are ſuffered to compleat their wicked purpoſes.

I bleſſe God, I pray not ſo much, that this bitter cup of a violent death may paſſe from Me, as that of his wrath may paſſe from all thoſe, whoſe hands by deſerting me, are ſprinkled, or by acting and conſenting to my death are embrued with my bloud.

The will of God hath confined, and concluded mine: I ſhall have the pleaſure of dying, without any pleaſure of deſired vengeance.

This I think becomes a Chriſtian toward his Enemies, and a King toward his Subjects.

They cannot deprive me of more then I am content to loſe, when God ſees fit by their hands to take it from me: whoſe mercy I believe, will more then infinitely recompence

what

what ever by mans injuſtice he is pleaſed to deprive me of.

The glory attending my death will farre ſurpaſſe all I could enjoy, or conceive in life.

I ſhall not want the heavy and envied Crownes of this world, when my God hath mercifully crowned and conſummated his graces with glory: and exchanged the ſhadows of my earthly Kingdoms among men, for the ſubſtance of that heavenly kingdome with himſelfe.

For the cenſures of the world; I know the ſharp and neceſſary tyranny of my Deſtroyers will ſufficiently confute the calumnies of tyranny againſt me: I am perſwaded I am happy in the judicious love of the ableſt and beſt of my Subjects, who doe not onely pitie and pray for me, but would be content even to die with me, or for me.

Theſe know, how to excuſe my failings, as a man, and yet to retaine, and pay their duty to me as their King: there being no religious neceſſity binding any Subjects by pretending to puniſh, infinitely to exceed, the faults and errours of their Princes: eſpecially there, where more then ſufficient ſatisfaction hath been made to the publick: the enjoyment of

which, private ambitions have hitherto fruſtrated.

Others, I believe, of ſofter tempers, and leſſe advantaged by my ruine, doe already feel ſharp convictions, and ſome remorſe in their conſciences; where they cannot but ſee the proportions of their evill dealings againſt me in the meaſure of Gods retaliations upon them, who cannot hope long to enjoy their own thumbs and toes, having under pretence of paring others nailes bin been ſo cruell as to cut of their chiefeſt ſtrength.

The puniſhment of the more inſolent and obſtinate may be like that of *Korah*, and his Complices (at once mutining againſt both Prince and Prieſt) in ſuch a method of divine juſtice, as is not ordinary; the earth of the loweſt and meaneſt people opening upon them, and ſwallowing them up in a juſt diſdaine of their ill-gotten, and worſe uſed Authority: upon whoſe ſupport and ſtrength they chiefly depended for their building and eſtabliſhing their deſignes againſt Me, the Church, and State.

My chiefeſt comfort in death conſiſts in my peace, which I truſt, is made with God;

before

before whoſe exact Tribunall I ſhall not feare to appeare, as to the Cauſe ſo long diſputed by the Sword, between me and my cauſleſſe enemies: where I doubt not, but his righteous judgement will confute their fallacie, who from worldly ſucceſſe (rather like Sophiſters, than ſound Chriſtians) draw thoſe popular concluſions for Gods approbation of their actions; whoſe wiſe providence (we know) oft permits many events, which his revealed Word (the onely clear, ſafe, and fixed rule of good actions and good conſciences) in no ſort approves.

I am confident the Juſtice of my Cauſe, and clearneſſe of My Conſcience before God, and toward my people will carry me, as much above them in Gods deciſion, as their ſucceſſes have lifted them above Mee in the Vulgar opinion: who conſider not, that many times thoſe undertakings of men are lifted up to Heaven in the proſperitie and applauſe of the world, whoſe riſe is from Hell, as to the injuriouſneſſe and oppreſſion of the deſigne. The proſperous winds which oft fill the ſayles of Pyrats, doth not juſtifie their piracie and rapine.

I look upon it with infinite more con-

tent

tent and quiet of Soule, to have been worſted in my enforced conteſtation for, and vindication of the Lawes of the Land, the freedome and honour of Parliaments, the Rights of my Crown, the juſt liberty of my Subjects, and the true Chriſtian Religion in its Doctrine, Government, and due encouragements, then if I had, with the greateſt advantages of ſucceſſe, overborn them all; as ſome men have now evidently done, whatever deſignes they at firſt pretended.

The prayers and patience of my Friends and loving Subjects will contribute much to the ſweetning of this bitter cup, which I doubt not but I ſhall more cheerfully take, and drink as from Gods hand (if it muſt be ſo) than they can give it to me, whoſe hands are unjuſtly and barbarouſly liſted up againſt me.

And, as to the laſt event, I may ſeem to owe more to my Enemies, than my Friends, while thoſe will put a period to the ſinnes and ſorrowes attending this miſerable life; wherewith theſe deſire, I might ſtill contend.

I ſhall be more than Conqueror through Chriſt enabling me, for whom I have hitherto

therto ſuffered: as he is the Authour of Truth, Order, and Peace; for all which, I have been forced to contend againſt Errour Faction, and Confuſion.

If I muſt ſuffer a violent death, with my Saviour, it is but mortality crowned with Martyrdome: where the debt of death, which I owe for ſinne to nature, ſhall bee raiſed, as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beſeech him mercifully to accept: and although death be the wages of my owne ſinne, as from God, and the effect of other ſinnes, as men, both againſt God and me; yet as I hope my own ſins are ſo remitted, that they ſhall be no ingregredients to imbitter the cup of my death, ſo I deſire God to pardon their ſins, who are moſt guiltie of my deſtruction.

The Trophees of my charity wil be more glorious and durable over them, than their ill-managed victories over me.

Though their ſin be proſperous, yet they had need to be penitent, that they may be pardoned: Both which, I pray God they may obtaine, that my temporall death unjuſtly inflicted by them, may not bee reven-

venged by GODS juſt inflicting eternall death upon them: for I look upon the temporall deſtruction of the greateſt King, as far leſſe deprecable, than the eternall damnation of the meaneſt Subject.

Nor doe I wiſh other, than the ſafe bringing of the ſhip to ſhore, when they have caſt me over-board; though it bee very ſtrange, that Mariners can finde no other means to appeaſe the ſtorm themſelvs have raiſed, but by drowning their Pilot.

I thank God, my Enemies cruelty cannot prevent my preparation, whoſe malice in this I ſhall defeat, that they ſhall not have the ſatisfaction to have deſtroyed my Soul with my Body: of whoſe ſalvation, while ſome of them have themſelves ſeemed and taught others to deſpaire, they have onely diſcovered this, that they doe not much deſire it.

Whoſe uncharitable and cruell Reſtraints, denying me even the aſſiſtance of any of my Chaplains, hath rather enlarged then any way obſtructed my acceſſe to the Throne of Heaven.

where

Where thou dwelleſt, O King of Kings; who filleſt Heaven and Earth, who art the fountaine of eternall life, in whom is no ſhadow of death.

Thou, O God, art both the juſt Inflicter of death upon us, and the mercifull Saviour of us in it, and from it.

Yea, it is better for us to be dead to our ſelves, and live in thee; than by living in our ſelves to be deprived of thee.

O make the many bitter aggravations of My death as a Man, and a King, the opportunities and advantages of thy ſpeciall graces and comforts in My Soule, as a Chriſtian.

If thou Lord wilt be with Me, I ſhall neither feare nor feel any evill, though I walk through the valley of the ſhaddow of death.

To contend with death is the work of a weak and mortall man: to overcome it, is the grace of thee alone, who art the Almighty and immortall God.

O My Saviour, who knoweſt what it is to die with Me, as a Man; make me to know what it is to paſſe through death to life with thee My God.

Though I die, yet I know, that thou my Redeemer

mer liveſt for ever: though thou ſlayeſt Me, yet thou haſt incouraged me to truſt in thee for eternall life.

O withdraw not thy favour from me, which is better than life.

O be not farre from me, for I know not how neer a violent and cruell death is to me.

As thy Omniſcience, O God, diſcovers, ſo thy Omnipotence can defeat the deſignes of thoſe, who have, or ſhall conſpire my deſtruction.

O ſhew me the goodneſſe of thy will, through the wickedneſſe of theirs.

Thou giveſt me leave as a man to pray, that this cup may paſſe from mee: but thou haſt taught Me as a Chriſtian by the example of Chriſt, to adde, not my will, but thy will be done.

Yea Lord, let our wils be one, by wholly reſolving mine into thine: let not the deſire of life in me be ſo great, as that of doing or ſuffering thy will in either life or death.

As I believe thou haſt forgiven all the errors of my life, ſo I hope thou wilt ſave me from the terrours of my death.

Make me content to leave the worlds nothing, that I may come really to enjoy all in thee, who haſt made Chriſt unto me in life, gaine: and in death, advantage.

Though

Though my Deſtroyers forget their duty to thee and me, yet doe not thou, O Lord, forget to be mercifull to them.

For, what profit is there in my bloud, or in their gaining my Kingdomes, if they loſe their owne Soules?

Such as have not onely reſiſted my juſt Power, but wholly uſurped and turned it againſt my ſelf, though they may deſerve, yet let them not receive to themſelves damnation.

Thou madeſt thy Sonne a Saviour to many, that Crucified Him, while at once he ſuffered violently by them, and yet willingly for them.

O let the voice of his bloud be heard for My Murtherers, louder then the cry of mine againſt them.

Prepare them for thy mercy by due convictions of their ſinne, and let them not at once deceive and damne their owne Soules by fallacious pretenſions of Iuſtice in deſtroying me, while the conſcience of their unjuſt uſurpation of power againſt me, chiefly tempts them to uſe all extremities againſt me.

O Lord, thou knoweſt I have found their mercies to me as very falſe, ſo very cruell: who pretending to preſerve me, have meditated nothing but my ruine.

O deale

O deale not with them as bloud-thirſty and deceitfull men: but overcome their cruelty with thy compaſſion and my charity.

And when thou makeſt inquiſition for My bloud, O ſprinkle their polluted, yet penitent Soules with the bloud of thy Sonne, that thy deſtroying Angel may paſſe over them.

Though they think my Kingdoms on earth too little to entertaine at once both them and me, yet let the capacious Kingdome of thy infinite mercie at laſt receive both me and my enemies.

When being reconciled to thee in the bloud of the ſame Redeemer, we ſhall live farre above theſe ambitious deſires, which beget ſuch mortall enmities.

When their hand ſhall be heavieſt, and cruelleſt upon me, O let me fall into the armes of thy tender and eternall mercie.

That which is cut off of my life in this miſerable moment, may be repayed in thy ever-bleſſed Eternity.

Lord, let thy ſervant depart in peace, for my eyes have ſeen thy ſalvation.

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt.

FINIS.

A

Perfect Copie of PRAYERS

Uſed by His

MAjESTIE

In the time of His

Sufferings.

Delivered to Doctor JUXON *Biſhop of* London *immediately before His Death.*

Alſo a Copie of a Letter from the *PRINCE.*

A PRAYER in time of Captivitie.

O Powerfull and Eternall God! to whom nothing is ſo great that it may reſiſt; or ſo ſmall, that it is contemned; look upon My Miſery with thine eye of Mercy, and let Thine infinite power vouchſafe to limit out ſome proportion of deliverance unto Me, as to

Thee ſhall ſeem moſt convenient; let not Injurie, O Lord triumph over Me; and let my faults by Thy hand be corrected; and make not my unjuſt enemies the Miniſters of thy Juſtice: But yet my God, if in Thy Wiſdome this be the apteſt chaſtiſement for my unexcuſable tranſgreſſions; if this ingrateſull bondage be fitteſt for my over-high deſires; if the pride of my (not enough humble) heart be thus to be broken, O Lord I yeild unto Thy will, and cheerfully embrace what ſorrow Thou wilt have me ſuffer: Only thus much let me crave of Thee, (Let my craving O Lord, bee accepted of, ſince it even proceeds from Thee) that by Thy goodneſſe which is Thy ſelfe, Thou wilt ſuffer ſome beame of Thy Majeſtie ſo to ſhine in My mind, that I, who in My greateſt Afflictions acknowledge it My Nobleſt Tytle to be Thy Creature, may ſtill depend confidently on Thee. Let Calamity bee the exerciſe but not the overthrow of my Virtue. O let not their prevailing power be to my deſtruction. And if it be Thy will that they more and more vex Me with puniſhment; yet, O Lord, never let their wickedneſſe have ſuch a hand,

but

but that I may ſtill carry a pure mind, and ſtedfaſt reſolution ever to ſerve Thee, without fear or preſumption, yet with that humble Confidence which may beſt pleaſe Thee; ſo that at the laſt I may come to Thy eternall Kingdome through the Merits of Thy Son our alone Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

Another PRAYER.

ALmighty and moſt mercifull Father, look down upon me Thy unworthy ſervant, who here proſtrate my ſelfe at the Foot-ſtool of Thy Throne of Grace; but look upon me, O Father, through the Mediation and in the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt in whom Thou art only well pleaſed; for, of my ſelfe I am not worthy to ſtand before Thee, or to ſpeak with my uncleane lips to Thee moſt holy and eternall God; for as in ſin I was conceived and born, ſo likewiſe I have broken all Thy Commandements by My ſinfull motions, unclean thoughts, evill words, and wicked works; omitting many duties I ought to doe, and committing many vices which Thou haſt forbidden under pain of Thy heavy Diſpleaſure: as for my ſins, O Lord, they are innumerable, wherefore I

ſtand here liable to all the miſeries in this life, and everlaſting Torments in that to come; if Thou ſhouldſt deal with me according to my deſerts. I confeſſe, O Lord, that it is Thy Mercy, (which endureth for ever) and Thy compaſſion (which never fails,) which is the cauſe that I have not been long ago conſumed: but with Thee there is mercy and plenteous Redemption; in the multitude therefore of Thy mercies and by the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt, I intreat Thy Divine Majeſty, that Thou wouldſt not enter into judgement with Thy ſervant, nor be extreame to mark what is done amiſſe, but be Thou mercifull unto me, and waſh away all my ſins with that pretious bloud that my Saviour ſhed for me. And I beſeech thee, O Lord, not only to waſh away all my ſins, but alſo to purge my heart by Thy holy Spirit, from the droſſe of my naturall corruption; and as Thou doſt adde dayes to my life, ſo good Lord, I beſeech Thee, to adde repentance to my dayes, that when I have paſt this mortall life, I may be partaker of Thy everlaſting Kingdome, through the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*

A PRAYER *and* CONFESSION, *made in and for the times of Affliction.*

ALmighty and moſt mercifull Father, as it is onely Thy goodneſſe that admits of Our imperfect Prayers, and the knowledge that thy mercies are infinite, which can give Us any hope of Thy accepting or granting them; ſo it is our bounden and neceſſary duty to confeſſe our ſins freely unto Thee; and of all men living, I have moſt need, moſt reaſon, ſo to do, no man having been ſo much obliged by Thee, no man more grievouſly offending Thee: that degree of knowledge which Thou haſt given Mee, adding likewiſe to the guilt of My tranſgreſſions. For was it through ignorance that I ſuffered innocent bloud to be ſhed by a falſe pretended way of Juſtice? or that I permitted a wrong way of Thy Worſhip, to be ſet up in *Scotland*? and injured the Biſhops in *England*? O no; but with ſhame and griefe I confeſſe, that I therein followed the perſwaſions of worldly wiſdome, forſaking the Dictates of a right-informed Conſcience: Wherefore, O Lord, I have no excuſe

cuſe to make, no hope left, but in the multitude of Thy mercies; for I know My repentance weak, and My prayers faulty: Grant therefore merciſull Father, ſo to ſtrengthen My repentance, and amend My prayers, that Thou mayeſt clear the way for Thine own mercies, to which, O let thy Juſtice at laſt give place, putting a ſpeedy end to My deſerved afflictions. In the mean time give Me Patience to endure, Conſtancie againſt Temptations, and a diſcerning ſpirit, to chooſe what is beſt for Thy Church, and People which thou haſt committed to My Charge. Grant this, O moſt merciſull Father, for thy Son Jeſus Chriſts ſake, our onely Saviour. *Amen.*

A PRAYER *in time of imminent danger.*

O Moſt merciſull Father, though My ſins are ſo many and grievous, that I may rather expect the effects of thy anger, than ſo great a deliverance, as to free Me from My preſent great danger; yet, O Lord, ſince Thy mercies are over all thy works, and Thou never faileſt to relieve all thoſe who

who with humble and unfeigned repentance come to Thee for ſuccour, it were to multiply, not diminiſh My tranſgreſſions to deſpaire of Thy heavenly favour: wherefore I humbly deſire Thy Divine Majeſty, that Thou wilt not onely Pardon all My ſins, but alſo free Me out of the hands, and protect Me from the malice of My cruell Enemies. But if thy wrath againſt My hainous Offences will not otherwayes be ſatisfied, than by ſuffering me to fall under my preſent afflictions, Thy will be done; yet with humble Importunity, I do and ſhall never leave to implore the aſſiſtance of Thy heavenly Spirit, that my cauſe, as I am Thy Vicegerent may not ſuffer through my weakneſſe or want of courage. O Lord, ſo ſtrengthen and enlighten all the faculties of my mind, that with clearneſſe I may ſhew forth Thy Truth, and manfully endure this bloudy Tryall, that ſo my ſufferings here may not onely glorifie Thee, but likewiſe be a furtherance to my ſalvation hereafter. Grant this, O mercifull Father, for his ſake who ſuffered for Me, even Jeſus Chriſt the Righteous. *Amen.*

FINIS.

A Copie of a Letter which was sent from the PRINCE to the KING; Dated from the HAGUE *Jan.*23. 1648.

SIR,

HAving no means to come to the knowledge of your Majesties present condition, but such as I receive from the Prints, or (which is as uncertain) Report, I have sent this Bearer Seamour *to wait upon your Majestie; and to bring me an account of it: that I may withall assure your Majestie, I doe not onely pray for your Majestie according to my dutie; but shall alwaies be ready to doe all which shall be in my power, to deserve that blessing which I now humbly beg of your Majestie upon*

SIR,

HAGUE
*Jan.*23.
1648.

Your MAJESTIES
most humble and most
obedient son & servant
CHARLES.

The Superscription was thus,
For the King.